Watch the label on your [illegible] That will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third the year.

The paper will be stopped on that day unless previously renewed.

WEEKLY PEOPLE

Agents sending in subscriptions without remittance must state distinctly how long they are to run.

Agents are personally charged with and held responsible for unpaid subscriptions sent in by them.

VOL. XIV. No. 43. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 21, 1905. PRICE TWO CENTS 50 CENTS PER YEA

PRELIMINARY EXPLOSION OR VOLCANIC RUMBLINGS COMING TO A HEAD

(Special to the DAILY and WEEKLY PEOPLE from Frank Bohn, National Organizer of the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance.)

St. Louis, Mo., Jan. 13.—All readers of The People have, for some time, had their ears attuned to the music of "Volcanic Rumblings." They have been aware that a storm of opposition to pure and simpledom in general and to the A. F. of L. in particular, has been gathering in the West. The utterly contemptible attitude assumed by the leaders of that once powerful body in these days of its hopeless degeneracy; the paralyzing effects of defeat after defeat sustained by it during the past few years; and the degradation of those "Socialists" whose A. F. of L. positions act as bribes, have called forth a vigorous protest from that portion of the S. P. who refuse to be longer unequally yoked together with criminals. The time being fully ripe for action, a conference of industrial unionists was lately called by a group of men prominently connected with the American Labor Union, the Western Federation of Miners, and revolutionary elements in the American Federation of Labor, notably the Brewery Workmen. While passing through Chicago I was invited to meet with this group and discuss the situation. This, after learning that the group were to meet as individuals, and not as delegates, I agreed to do. The conference took place during the first week in January. Among the twenty-five present were Haywood and Moyer of the Western Federation of Miners, Clarence Smith, Haggerty and Estes of the American Labor Union, Trautmann, editor of the Brauer Zeitung. This conference issued the Manifesto to American Workingmen, which calls for a convention of all industrial, class conscious unionists, to be held in June. To this convention the S. T. & L. A. is expected to send delegates. Some knowledge of the character of this conference and its attitude on "The Burning Question," may be helpful to members of the S. T. & L. A. in coming to a conclusion on the attitude to be taken by their organization with regard to the proposed convention.

Trautmann, in stating the general purpose of the conference on behalf of the Committee of Seven, proclaimed clearly and firmly the old, old truths which we, of the S. L. P., have never ceased to emphasize during all these years of fighting. After proving the capitalist character of the A. F. of L. and showing its open follies and its hidden rottenness, he added:

"It will be said that we are practically accepting the principles of the S. T. & L. A. Yes, we are. We must come to that. They are the right principles."

The fiercest attacks on pure and simpledom and on "boring from within" the A. F. of L., were made by those who have been the last to turn against that organization, such as Sherman of Texas, and other Western men whose names I have forgotten. The members of the conference were practically unanimous in unqualified ratification of class conscious, industrial unionism, as advocated by the S. T. & L. A. As a leading member of the A. L. U. stated to me in private conversation: "It is plain that the fight which De Leon and the S. L. P. have been making all these years is the right fight to make."

Some members of the conference objected to the call of a convention and advocated the re-organization of all class conscious, industrial unionists about an existing organization as a nucleus. But it was quickly pointed out that such action would have little influence further than to secure the adhesion of some members of the conference as individuals. The desired result could only be obtained through the action of a convention really representing organized bodies of workingmen.

Careful perusal of the contents of the Manifesto will make clear, better than anything else which might be said, what is working in the minds of these men. That the new organization IS TO BE AFFILIATED WITH NO POLITICAL PARTY, is a feature of the Manifesto most interesting to members of both the S. T. & L. A. and the S. L. P. With reference to this matter the S. T. & L. A. delegates, if any are sent, should have very definite opinions. This attitude on the political character of the proposed organization, prevailed with a majority of the members of the conference, because it was thought that attention should just now be riveted upon the subject of re-organization upon the industrial field. "Socialists" not interested in the subject of industrial unionism are supposed to remain away from the June convention. It is to be hoped that the convention may accept all those principles which have made the S. T. & L. A. heretofore the only real Socialist labor union; and make provision for a clear-cut organization along the lines marked out by those principles. This will mean at once a powerful attack upon the A. F. of L. and all its defenders, including "Socialists" like Max Hayes, Berger and the Volkszeitung crew, as well as Gompers and Mitchell.

One more incident—it will be seen at once that the list of signatures to the Manifesto contains the names of some men who have been most bitter opponents of both the S. T. & L. A. and the S. L. P. Furthermore the names of some appear who were not present at the conference, notably those of Debs and Untermann, the latter of whom has been in the past a most strenuous advocate of "boring from within." In all the discussion which is now to come, may principles and not individuals be considered as really important. The men made prominent by the Colorado struggle, Moyer and Haywood, Clarence Smith and Haggerty, have been the means of instituting the new movement. Lessons learned by them in the bitter school of experience have prompted this first step on their part. "The miners of Colorado," said Haywood, permanent chairman of the conference, "fought alone the capitalist class of the United States. We don't wish to fight that way again." Never have a group of men more deeply impressed me as possessing those sterling qualities which make men worthy of fighting the great fight of the working class. For S. T. & L. A. delegates to meet such men can result in good alone to all concerned. If less worthy characters find their way to the convention there is all the more need of counteracting influences. Final action, it must not be forgotten by all concerned, rests with the membership of the various bodies represented on the floor of the convention.

FRANK B[illegible]N.

BOSTON LECTURES.

The Socialist Labor Party will hold Sunday evening lectures at headquarters, 1165 Tremont street, corner Ruggles st., as follows:

Jan. 22, subject: The Socialist Movement.

Jan. 27, subject: The Socialist Labor Party.

The lecturer will be Comrade Jas. A. Bresnahan. Comrades are requested to attend and make the lectures a success.

DEBATE IN DETROIT, MICH.

"Resolved, That the present competitive system of production is on the whole preferable to any practicable form of Socialism," is the subject of a public debate to be held Saturday, January 28, at Miami Hall, 96 Miami avenue, Detroit, which will begin at 8 p. m.

The affirmative will be upheld by the Rev. Paul Zeigler, Pastor of St. Barnabas' and Mariners' Churches, Mr. W. L. Blauvelt, superintendent of coke ovens at the Solvay Process Co., living at 40 Mott avenue.

For the negative:—Comrades Meyer and Richter.

There will be four speeches with no rebuttals.

MILWAUKEE, WIS., PARTY.

The Young Men's Socialist Club of Milwaukee, Wis., will give a Card Party and Sociable on Saturday evening, January 28 at Hankes' Hall, corner of Ninth and Harmon streets. The members of the organization have worked unceasingly to make the affair a great success, which it undoubtedly will be.

As the Young Men's Socialist Club is a great factor in spreading the principles of Socialism, comrades are urged to attend and bring a few of their friends with them.

LITHO. ARBITRATION

As Depicted by the Organ of the Civic Federation, and As It Really Is.

The January National Civic Federation Monthly Review is given over entirely to the reports and speeches made to and at the recent executive meetings and banquet of that body. On Page 19, appears the "Report of Department of Trade Agreements, by F. L. Robbins and John Mitchell, Chairmen". This report says: "The experience of this Department has confirmed our conviction that there is nothing so important for the future of this country as the trade agreement as a method of reaching harmonious relations between capital and labor. The trade agreement, in our opinion, offers the most practical way to avert difficulties, dangers and possibly disaster in the industrial world." The report then proceeds to give instances in proof of this assertion. Among these instances the case of the lithographers is cited, as follows:

"Members of this Department attended many of the protracted and arduous conferences between representatives of the Lithographers' Association and of the employed crafts, which resulted in a national trade agreement that includes practically all of the trade. After the formation of that agreement, a dispute arose at Cincinnati and San Francisco over its construction, which was referred to a member of this Department. Both sides accepted his decision as satisfactory. A second contention arising under the same agreement in St. Louis, Chicago and Cleveland, each side selected a different member of the Civic Federation, and they chose a third member. This arbitration committee rendered a decision mutually satisfactory to the contestants."

This statement and the instance in support of it are worthy of analysis, as they cover a field of great sociological importance. As a prelude to this analysis, it is necessary to inquire how this so-called trade agreement in the litho. industry was affected, after which it can be shown how it is enforced, with the results among the rank and file of the labor employed.

George J. Bohnen, a leader of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, in a debate now running in "Record and Guide", the real estate organ, criticizing arbitration, as practised in the building trades of this city, says:

"It was entirely a one-sided affair forced upon the unions after they had been weakened by a prolonged struggle."

Further along in the same article, Bohnen says:

"Arbitration, from the employers' standpoint, is a game of heads I win, tails you lose."

Had Bohnen been writing of arbitration in lithography instead of the building trades, he would have used precisely the same words. Arbitration was forced on the lithographers after a prolonged strike last spring. The lithographic organizations came out of this strike with their treasuries depleted and their ranks divided, leaving them helpless and at the mercy of the employers, who have since utilized the circumstances thus created, to their own advantage. The division in the ranks of the lithographic unions was attained by a refined and subtle kind of "Weinseimering". The employers made special contracts with foremen and others. The latter organized "good government" clubs. These clubs are ostensibly organized to secure good government for the unions. Their real purpose is to govern the unions for the good of the employers. The depleted treasuries of the unions, together with the "good government" clubs, make possible "the heads I win, tails you lose" game of the employers laid out in the trade "agreement" forced on their defeated employes. It was under such conditions that the contentions referred to in the instance quoted by Messrs. Robbins and Mitchell in support of their claims in behalf of the trade agreement, were "mutually adjusted"—to the satisfaction of the employers.

It would be idle to presume that peace can exist where men are compelled to submit to enforced "agreements" and their logical results, enforced injustices. The peace that exists among the litho. employes under such circumstances is the peace of Warsaw. Experience gained since the adoption of that trade "agreement" has forced upon many lithographers the conclusion that, FOR THE PRESENT, a decisive re-assertion of rights, is not possible. Recuperation from the effects of the late strike, and trade developments that will destroy the demoralizing influence of the good gov-

(Continued on page 6.)

THE VOTE.

State—	Corregan	Debs
Alabama	....	853
Arkansas	....	1,816
California	296	29,535
Colorado	335	4,304
Connecticut	575	4,543
Delaware	....	146
Florida	....	2,337
Georgia	....	197
Idaho	....	4,949
Illinois	4,698	69,225
Indiana	1,598	12,013
Iowa	....	14,847
Kansas	....	15,494
Kentucky	596	3,602
Louisiana	....	995
Maine	....	2,106
Maryland	....	2,247
Massachusetts ...	2,359	13,604
Michigan	1,183	8,946
Minnesota	974	11,692
Mississippi	....	392
Missouri	1,675	13,009
Montana	208	5,676
Nebraska	....	7,412
Nevada	....	925
New Hampshire ..	....	1,090
New Jersey	2,680	9,587
New York	9,127	36,883
North Carolina ..	....	125
North Dakota	....	2,017
Ohio	2,633	36,633
Oregon	....	7,619
Pennsylvania	2,211	21,863
Rhode Island	488	789
South Carolina ...	....	22
South Dakota	....	3,138
Tenessee	....	1,354
Texas	421	2,791
Utah	....	5,761
Vermont	....	859
Virginia	218	218
Washington	1,592	9,975
West Virginia	....	1,574
Wisconsin	223	28,220
Wyoming	....	1,574
Totals	34,000	402,957

The vote in the above second column is the vote polled by Charles H. Corregan and Will W. Cox in the twenty States in which the Socialist Labor Party had a ticket. The eighty-two S. L. P. men, who in the Territory of Arizona simultaneously gave their vote to the S. L. P. candidate for delegate, the only office in the Territory, rightly belong with the above total. Accordingly, at the Presidential election of 1904, 34,172 votes are officially accredited to the Socialist Labor Party—the only party in the field that stood unqualifiedly for the unconditional surrender of the capitalist class, the only party whose propaganda did not differ according to longitude or latitude, the only party whose apostles, in every one of the twenty States in which the Party's banner was unfurled, urged the voters not to give it their support unless they were ready to back up its demands. The California vote is, in a way, the most remarkable. As yet unable to place their honored Party on the official ballot, the 296 Socialist Labor Party stalwarts had to surmount the difficulty of each writing out in full the names of the Party's electoral candidates on the official ballot. The poll for 1904 falls only nineteen short of the previous Presidential year. The S. L. P. column stands unshaken.

As to the vote for Debs, it is taken exactly as found in one of the S. P. latest official publications.

CHICAGO CITY CONVENTION.

The City Convention of the Socialist Labor Party of the City of Chicago will be held at Labor Lyceum, 76 La Salle street, Chicago, on Tuesday evening, January 24, 1905, at 8 P. M. Nominations of Candidates for the Spring Election, and other matters that may properly come before the Convention, will be the order of business.

For Section Chicago,
H. A. Nielsen, Organizer.

CONNECTICUT, ATTENTION!

To the Sections and members of the S. L. P. in the State of Connecticut: On account of sickness, Comrade A. Gierginsky has resigned from the secretaryship, therefore all communications intended for the Connecticut S. E. C. should be addressed to the undersigned.

Fred Fellermann,
2 State street, Hartford, Conn.

NOTICE, SECTIONS!

Send all communications intended for Section Hartford to L. Newhouse, organizer, 412 Broad street, Hartford, Conn.

If you receive a sample copy of this paper it is an invitation to subscribe.

KANSAS GAS BELT

Life in Its Zinc Smelters and Brickyard Bad for Labor—A Pen Picture.

(Special Correspondence.)

Cherryvale, Kansas, Jan. 5.—Cherryvale is a typical non-union town. There isn't a labor union in it. Yet it is an industrial town and has the largest individual zinc smelting plant in the world. It has sixteen furnaces fed entirely by natural gas. The atmosphere around the smelter is so poisonous that it kills all plant life within a radius of one to two miles, according as the season is dry, or wet. In this smelter four hundred men are employed. The highest wage paid is $3.10 for twelve hours' work, and the man in charge of the fires gets this. There is a class of work here, however, which calls for extraordinary bodily exertion. The men doing it are allowed to go home when they have charged the furnace. These men start to work at four a. m. and generally get through about 11.30 a. m. to 12 noon. The wages range from $1.60 to $2.15 and only one man to each furnace receives this wage. The kiln men and the roasters work twelve hours for $2.15; while the laborers in the yard receive $1.50 for a ten hour day. Now a charge consists of zinc, ore, silica, coal dust, coke dust and a blue powder containing arsenic in large quantities. Only the strongest and most robust men can stand it, and they become saturated with zinc and arsenical poisoning after a few years.

There are also six brick yards here. The highest wages paid in them is $2.50 for the head setter. The rest get $1.50 per day. There are but two men who receive more than $1.50 per day. They receive $2.00 per day.

With the discovery of gas in paying quantities came the discovery that the small hills around here were composed of shale, a kind of decomposed rock; this combination, natural gas and shale, caused brick yards to be established here. They employ over one thousand men. A great many of the brick yard men live in tents patched up with refuse boards, and dry goods boxes, and any one who remembers how upper Fifth avenue looked with its goats and shanties among the rocks can easily picture the settlements of these brick yard employes. These men are employed only about one-half the time. Whenever it rains "no work"; when it freezes up, or machinery breaks, "no work." If they had to pay house rent it would be impossible for them to live.

In the town, the middle class reign supreme; the restaurants are all small and while the men folks wait on the table the women folks do the cooking. A great many people who, in the keen competition of the larger places, and railroad men, whom the age limit has eliminated from railway service, are starting small places in this and surrounding towns; in fact, the Kansas gas belt is the last gasp of the expiring middle class. These people are renting from the farmers in the surrounding country and they expected that, attracted by the abundance of gas, factories would spring up, the renting value of their houses and stores would increase and a home market created, so that they could raise garden truck, poultry, dairy products, etc., and sell direct to the consumer without paying enormous freight rates to the railroads, and trusting to the tender conscience of the commission merchants in Kansas City. So when an agent of one of the subsidiary companies of the Standard Oil Company offered them $50.00 to $75.00 per year royalty on a gas well, and $100.00 to $150.00 for an oil well the owners of the farms jumped at it. They figured that these people would start factories and a great land boom would result.

The ore that is smelted here comes from the Joplin district of Missouri, a distance of seventy-five miles. The coal used has to be brought fifty miles from the Pittsburg coal district. The blue arsenical powder has to be brought from St. Louis, and through the Joplin district to Cherryvale. Freight rates are high. The trust has piped the gas as far as Galena. The next move will be the erection of an up-to-date smelter run by gas and electricity, as that will generate enough horse-power to run the machinery, while the gas coming through a pipe at a pressure of 450 to 500 pounds will require no pumping and furnish the heat for the furnaces. If the gas plays out in the gas belt, coal and coke would have to be shipped into Cherryvale, but if the gas gives out in Galena they are in the midst of the coal belt and also the zinc

(Continued on page 6.)

CONGRESSIONAL

HEATED DEBATE ON THE STATEHOOD BILL

HEATED SENATE DEBATE ON THE STATEHOOD BILL.

Beveridge Loses Control of His Capitalist Politician Tongue and Utters These Words: "For Fifty Years We Have Heard What Politicians Said the People Wanted, But Never Have We Heard the People Themselves Say What They Wanted"!!!!

Originally there were four independent bills to create new States. One bill provided for the admission of Oklahoma, another for the admission of the Indian Territory, a third for the admission of New Mexico, and the fourth for the admission of Arizona—in all, four new States. These bills all originated in the House. There they underwent several transformations, until they were pounded into their present shape—one bill providing for the union of Oklahoma and the Indian Territory in one State, to be known as Oklahoma, and also providing for the union of New Mexico and Arizona in one State, to be known as Arizona. In that shape the bills were reported back to the House on April 8, 1904. On the 19th the consolidated bill was taken up "for consideration" by the House in Committee of the Whole. To what extent the matter was "considered" may be judged from the circumstance that the bill was taken up "for consideration" under a rule limiting the debate, excluding intervening motions, and providing for a vote on the bill on its final passage at 4 o'clock of that day. The bill passed, and is now before the Senate. Such a jamming-through prelude is enough to cause even the most credulous to ponder and ask, What's back of it? The Socialist, equipped with the unerring key that opens all such locks, the knowledge that material interests, and not high flown principles, are the groundwork of legislation, seeks to fathom the mystery, and thereby to understand the thing. The debate now on in the Senate, whose Committee on Territories has also reported the bill favorably, tends rather to deepen than to clarify the mystery.

There is no division in the Senate on the head of Oklahoma and the Indian Territory. All hands are agreed to consolidate the two into one State. The division is on the Arizona-New Mexico proposition. One set of Senators, seemingly a minority, object to the proposition. They raise a number of objections. They claim that the area of two such territories lumped into one would be unwieldy; they claim that the pursuits of the two populations are too dissimilar to be harmonized by one body of legislation; they claim that the institutions and traditions of the two peoples are wholly different; they claim that the difference starts from the difference in race, the one being mainly Mexican and Greaser, the other, Arizona, being mainly what Senator Tillman, a leader in the opposition, calls "the white man." The opposition back up their claims with a stack of resolutions and protests—from the Governor of Arizona, from the Arizona Bar Association, from the Arizozna Baptist Convention and from a number of other officials and bodies—all protesting emphatically against the "disgrace" of joining Arizona to New Mexico, and against the "threatened disaster to Arizona." All express the preference of having Arizona remain a territory rather than having the territory raised to the dignity of State "with the mill-stone of New Mexico tied to its neck." It must be here stated that New Mexico is not behind Arizona in these protests. The New Mexican protesters also object to statehood if that means consolidation with Arizona. The opposition in the Senate entrenches itself behind this mass of protests.

Redoubtable as these entrenchments look at first sight, their value melts wholly away upon closer inspection, especially upon an inspection of the bill itself. The Senators who favor the bill make just one argument; that one argument should be quite enough to silence the opposition's guns. The argument is that the opposition talks as though Congress, in the exercise of its plenary rights over the territories, decreed b the bill that Arizona and New Mexic be consolidated into one State. The bil does not so order. The bill only provides for the submission of the questio to a vote of the respective population in the two territories. "Are you," as these Senators to the opposition, "Ar you afraid of the voice of the people?" "We have that voice!" answers the opposition holding up the bundles of protests from Governors, lawyers, Baptis Convention, sheriffs, and other dignitaries; "We have that voice here!" "Not so!" retort the Senators in favo of the bill; and Senator Beveridge of Indiana is carried so headlong in his assault upon the opposition that h brushes away their answer with a reply that is amazing, considering th source from which it comes and th place in which it is made. Beveridge's reply is: "FOR FIFTY YEARS W HAVE HEARD WHAT POLITICIANS SAID THE PEOPLE WANTED, BUT NEVER HAVE WE HEARD TH PEOPLE THEMSELVES SAY WHAT THEY WANTED." The Congressional Record, page 518, on which this passag is officially entered under the head o the Senate debate of the 6th instant has no marginal or bracketed description of the tableau produced in the Senate in that Sanhedrim of capitalist politicians, by Beveridge's sledge-hammer truth upon the heads of the opposition Senators, and his boomerang-truth upon the heads of his own side of the house his own head among the rest.

So complicated are capitalist interests that it is often next to impossible, without an X-ray look into Senatorial pockets, to understand exactly the particular source of the "justice" for which each contestant is in the other's hair. Whether the cats will come out of the bag, before the debate on the Statehood bill is over, remains to be seen. That, however, vital pocket interests are at stake may be gathered from the heat developed in the debate, a heat intense enough to so completely throw a Beveridge off his guard as to cause him to give away to a truth so damaging to the methods of the class that the Senate collectively represents—"FOR FIFTY YEARS WE HAVE HEARD WHAT POLITICIANS SAID THE PEOPLE WANTED, BUT NEVER HAVE WE HEARD THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES SAY WHAT THEY WANTED."

The day is drawing near when Senator Beveridge will wish his tongue had been torn out of his head and burned before it uttered that truth—one of the notes in the symphony that is going up from the camp of the Working Class, the people of the land.

OF INTEREST TO DALLAS, TEX.

Bill B Cook, 144 Nusbaumer street, Dallas, Tex., requests the Weekly People to inform its readers in that city that he is endeavoring to organize a Section there. Get in touch with him.

SECTION OFFICERS.

At a meeting of Section Seattle, held December 28, 1904, the following members were elected to serve as officers for 1905:

A. Brearcliff, Organizer; Steve Brearcliff, Financial Secretary; F. J. Meyers, Recording Secretary; E. Krause, Literary Agent; A. G. Dehly, F. Crossman and Paul Wagner, Grievance Committee. Address of any of above is Box 1040.

Section New Haven has elected the following officers for the ensuing term: Organizer, Joseph Marek; recording secretary, J. P. Johnson; financial secretary, Chris. Schmidt; treasurer, Meyer Stodel; literary agent, S. Stodel; Agent for The People, Chris. Schmidt; for Arbeiter Zeitung, E. T. Oatley; auditing committee, C. Warner, A. Fischer and C. G. Sundberg; grievance committee, T. Sullivan, E. T. Oatley, Meyer Stodel, C. G. Sundberg and J. Marek.

OFFICERS SECTION TACOMA, WASH.

Organizer, J. C. Anderson; Recording Secretary, Wm. Carnegie; Fnancial Secretary, E. H. Carlson; Treasurer, G. Rush; Literary Agent, T. Hutton; Press Agent, T. G. Sadlier; Agent (Arbeiter Zeitung) Chas. Martin; Grievance Committee, G. Rush, George Oakley, C. M. Carlson; Auditing Committee, Chas. Martin, C. M. Carlson, J. C. Anderson.

THE IRREPRESSIBLE CLASS CONFLICT IN COLORADO

The Struggle for the Eight-Hour Day—Its History Significance and Failure, Culminating in th Capitalist Riots of 1904.

Written by H. J. BRIMBLE,
Florence, Colorado, 1904.

FIFTH EPISODE—Continued

FIFTH EPISODE—Continued.

PROFESSIONS OF HORROR AND NOTES OF EXULTATION.

The spokesmen of the mine-owners professed to be horrified at the explosion, and it is possible that they felt for the unfortunate victims, but if one fact be apparent more than another it is that, nothwithstanding the expressions of horror and of pity, the dominant note was one of exultation. Bismarck, turning against the Socialists of Germany the weapons placed in his hands by a pair of crazy Anarchists, was of like mind. The opportunity long desired was at hand. The non-union men, inflamed by a judicious use of whiskey and tales of how they were to be the next victims, rushed to Victor, and, with arms supplied by their masters, aided them in overturning the established government of the county and in placing men of their own selection in office. We may remain forever in doubt as to the perpetrators of the Independence outrage, but I do not hesitate in placing the responsibility for the deaths of the men killed in the riots upon the shoulders of those who got up the meeting in Victor as a part of their criminal program.

Had the gathering been arranged for in good faith it would still have been an act of criminal insanity. But the evidence compels us to reject this charitable construction. As to who fired the first shot we cannot say, but we do know the men responsible for the meeting and we are acquainted with their object.

THE WRECKING OF THE UNION STORES.

The next thing that demands our attention is the wrecking of the union stores. As has been stated, the union stores had been eminently successful, so much so as to form in themselves a cause of complaint among the parasites who live on the backs of the workers, and who fight the battles of the capitalists. In Victor the union store occupied one room on the ground floor of the Miners' Union building. The other was occupied by the firm of Simonton and Moore. Prior to the denial of credit to the miners, this concern had done a great business, running as high as eight delivery wagons, from which the volume of the trade may be estimated. As might be expected, Simonton and Moore were among the first to feel the effects of the union competition, and, by the time of the usurpation of the mine-owners, business was at a standstill, one of the proprietors being forced to drive the single delivery wagon in use.

Moore, of Simonton and Moore, is Captain Moore of the National Guard, and, when the mine-owners seized the reins in Teller county, he was placed in command of the local companies. His first move was to take revenge on the organization that had taken his business when he elected to stand with the operators, and he headed the mob that wrecked at least one of the union stores. I presume there were others of his kidney among the rioters, but his case is the more glaring because of his official position. The characters of the enforcers of law and the preservers of order may be estimated from the fact that some of the "best people" stocked their larders with the plunder, and others befouled in a most shocking manner many of the things that could not otherwise be destroyed or carried away.

"DEPORTATION A PEACE MEASURE."—BELL.

Next comes up for treatment the deportation of the union miners and sympathizers. General Bell, Governor Peabody, and many others have endeavored to square themselves with the country on this score by claiming that they were only exercising a power that is used by the police of every city in the country every day in the year. The miners were, in the picturesque words of Bell, driven away from their homes because he "believed it to be the most effective method of ridding Teller County and the State of Colorado of an organized gang of assassins, dynamiters, anarchists and law-breakers." "More than that," said Bell, "I sent them out of the district for their own safety. Martial law and the presence of the military is all that has prevented these men from being lynched by the indignant citizens of Teller and El Paso counties. My men have even taken ropes from their necks and saved them.

"The deportation was the quickest way of restoring peace. I don't want these men in Colorado. They are the leaders and participants in the insurrection now existing in the Cripple Creek district and it is my business to break it up. That is exactly what I propose to do.

"What steps I have taken as military commander concerns nobody but myself and my commander-in-chief, the Governor of this State."

That is a fair statement of the head of the military, and in this he is backed up by the administration. Bell's avowal as to his position was the result of a telegram from a New York paper enquiring as to the law that had guided him in his denial of the right of free, open, and speedy trial of the men whom he had designated as criminals, and in the abrogation of their liberty, while they were unconvicted of, and even uncharged with, any crime.

BELL'S "PEACE" MEASURE ANALYZED.

We will treat this question as we have the preceding ones, and inquire as to the evidence. In the first place, the miners of the Cripple Creek district are unexcelled as workman, and that takes them out of the category of professional criminals. Secondly, the mine-owners have done, and are doing, everything that lies in their power to induce these criminals to return to work, so much the more as they see their profits disappearing before the onslaughts of the imported saints.

When the miners were first rounded up into the bull-pen it speedily became evident that it was hopeless to expect to convict the greater part of them. Something had to be done to destroy the union, and deportation was decided upon. The evidence of Judge H. McGarry, president of the Military Commission, which examined the prisoners, settles the question as to the reasons for deportation, and, incidentally, shows up General Bell and Governor Peabody as a pair of poor, though malicious, liars.

"No," said the Judge, "we are not deporting any criminals or anyone that might make a good witness. The only difference between those deported and those remaining is that the former are on the wrong side of the Federation question. Otherwise they are just as good men, in many instances, as those who have not been molested and are permitted to remain in their homes here. Their sympathies, which they refuse to renounce, are all that we have against such men as Marshal Brothers and Joe Hamilton, of Goldfield. However, the citizens of Goldfield are not overlooking any such persons but are faithfully reporting them to the committee."

Where are the assassins, dynamiters, anarchists and law-breakers of Bell and Peabody?

THE SIMPLE AND ELOQUENT FACTS ABOUT THE ENFORCED RESIGNATION.

The enforced resignations of the officials of Teller County who refused to do the bidding of the Mine-Owners' Association need little or no comment. The simple facts are sufficiently eloquent. I may say, though, that quite recently C. C .Hamlin, secretary of the Mine-Owners' Association, boasted to no less a person than Judge Lewis that he was one of the men who held the rope when Sheriff Robertson was told that he would be hanged in case of refusal to resign. As to the charges of being incapable or declining to enforce the law, brought against the regularly elected officials of Teller County by the mine-owners, all that needs to be said is that the men appointed to office when the former occcupants were forced out, consented to do the bidding of their masters without question. Their predecessors did not; hence the charges brought against them.

One more point, and we shall drop this phase. Former U. S. Senator John M. Thurston, commenting upon the extraordinary proceedings of the military under General Bell, said that those who directed the troops had evidently acted upon their own responsibility or without having been properly advised. "Every man in the United States," says the Senator, "has a constitutional right to his life and his liberty until they are taken away from him by due process of law." With a due sense of what it means to oppose so learned a man, I must say that he is mistaken, and has confused theory with fact; that he has taken what is written in the statutes as being the law by which we are governed, when, in truth, our Government, is in the hands of the men who are dominant economically, and whose will is law—the real law.

And again, the Senator has overlooked the previous verdict handed down by the Supreme Court of Colorado on that fateful day, June 6th, which declares that the Governor is supreme in the State, and that he is not to be bound by the observance of what are generally considered to be the essential and fundamental features of government in America.

INDICTMENT OF THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE WESTERN FEDERATION.

After taking evidence for a week, with the public and representatives of the press excluded for the greater part of the time from its sittings, the Coroner's Jury empanelled to inquire into the deaths of Roxie McGee and John Davies, killed in the riots of the 6th, brought in a verdict naming Albert Bilot and William Boyle as being directly responsible for the deaths of the men, and it was also declared that the riot was the result of a conspiracy on the part of the Western Federation of Miners. As a consequence of this verdict, 48 indictments were brought against the president, secretary, members of the executive board, the editor of the official organ of the Western Federation of Miners and every man who had taken an active part in the work of the union. A number of the men thus charged with murder were already under arrest, and preparations were made to secure the others.

After being a prisoner ten days, President Moyer was admitted to bail in the sum of $10,000. Officers from Teller County came to Denver to apprehend the other officials of the union, but these were prepared for their visitors and gave bond. In a number of cases bail was refused: the Sheriff of Teller County proposing to hold the men until brought to trial.

THE STATUS OF THE MILITARY COMMISSION.

Although deportations by the wholesale were at an end, the Military Commission was still engaged in giving certain proscribed individuals to understand that they must leave the district, and, as the military and a choice band of detectives and deputies were there to enforce the orders of the Commission, the victims generally heeded the warning.

There may be some doubt in the mind of the reader as to the origin and status of this Military Commission, and it may be well to devote a few lines to an explanation of what it really was, and how it came into being. The determination on the part of the Mine-Owners' Association to exterminate the Western Federation of Miners did not have its birth on June 6th. The events of that day merely furnished the excuse and the opportunity desired. Accordingly, when Teller County was placed once more under martial law, the Military Commission was brought into being to direct operations for the establishment of desirable conditions in Teller County, from the mine-owners' point of view.

NOMINALLY A MILITARY, BUT REALLY A MINE OWNERS' AGENT.

Nominally, it was the agent of the military; really, the commission represented the Mine-Owners' Association and the soldiers were there to do its bidding. Had Bell declined to do as McGarry and his colleagues directed him, he would have retained command of the troops just as long as it took to get a message to Denver, and no longer. Of course, the commission kept in the background, and allowed Bell to do the talking, from which the poor fool came to believe that he had the destinies of the district in his hands. The point must be made perfectly clear: This self-constituted body, without the slightest warrant in law, ran the Cripple Creek district to suit itself, and had ,because they were purchased by the mine-owners, the forces of the State back of it to enforce its dicta.

"THWARTING THE MOB."

Now that the Mine-Owners' Association had the upper hand, it was confidentlly predicted that peace and prosperity would reign in Teller County. The Western Federation of Miners was no longer a factor to be considered, and those in authority cannot evade the responsibility for subsequent happenings. A number of former residents of the district decided to return home. The wife of one of them, Chas. Tully, had been but lately confined and was in a precarious condition. Tully, naturally, wished to be at home, and, that he might return in safety, took the precaution to provide himself with a permit from General Bell. Two other men, James Fraser and D. C. O'Niell, were also provided with passes from the military commander. This provision was not of the slightest assistance to them. The presence of the men being distasteful, a mob was organized to give them an illustration of what it meant to return in the face of an order to stay away. A deputy sheriff took the men into custody with the avowed object of thwarting the mob, which he knew to be gathering. The victims, however, claim that this was part of the plot. At any rate, the men named, with two others, Fred Warburton and W. H. Heeney, were seized, and after being robbed, were beaten frightfully; to such an extent, indeed, that one was driven almost insane. The preservers of law and order drove their victims over the hills toward the river, beating them all the way. From one man, Warburton, money and valuables to the extent of $211 were taken. The others, too, were robbed of everything they possessed, with the exception of Tully, whose frail physique saved him from the punishment meted out to the others, and who, not being searched, had two dollars, with which food was purchased while on the way to Canon City.

The deputy sheriff reported the case to Captain Moore and a squad of cavalry was sent out in the opposite direction to capture the mob and rescue the prisoners. The attitude of the military may be estimated from a remark of Captain Moore: "It will be a sorry day for the next one that comes back." There is not a little evidence in support of the charge that the soldiers themselves took a leading part in this outrage.

As might be expected, the work of the mob was not investigated by the authorities. The reason for this will appear later.

THE MILITARY INQUISITION IN OPERATION.

The next victim selected by the star chamber was Frank P. Mannix, Clerk and Recorder of Teller county. Late at night on July 8th, he was waited upon by a committee which informed him that his presence was desired at the mine-owners headquarters. He accompanied the members of the committee to that place and was then interrogated by a committee of twenty, of whom the principal inquisitors were former-Mayor Franklin, Sheriff Edward Bell, and Frank A. Words, of the Gold Coin mine. Mr. Mannix was charged with being too favorable to the cause of the miners' union, and his resignation was demanded. It was hinted by the committee that it would be well for him to resign, as otherwise charges of a criminal nature would be filed against him; William Carruthers, a former deputy under Mr. Mannix, having sworn that the county clerk had been corrupt in the administration of his office.

Mr. Mannix defied the committee and declined to give up his office, returning to his home after a four-hour seance guarded by a military escort under the personal command of General Bell and Captain Moore. Following this an effort was made to have the county commissioners remove the objectionable man, but the lawyers consulted declared such a thing to be impossible. It being apparent that his enemies would endeavor to drive him into resigning by making life unbearable, Mr. Mannix left Teller county for his ranch in Montrose, leaving the office in charge of a deputy.

FLOODS OF LIGHT ON MILITARY METHODS.

The case of W. G. Bradley throws a flood of light upon the methods in use by the vigilance committee in Teller county. This man was arrested by the notorious ex-convict Frank Vannick, and was taken to the office of the sheriff. From that place he was taken before the committee and "sweated" for hours, the unfortunate man being loaded with all kinds of abuse. Then he was deported, with the intimation that he would be killed in case of returning.

A new move was introduced into the game by a gang of men who entered a saloon and, after robbing the place, seized five men found there and robbed them, finishing the job by running the plundered indivaduals out of town.

It is impossible to follow the long list of deportations, assaults, robberies, and other outrages committed under the regime of the military commission. Enough has been said, I trust, to establish the fact that the mine-owners did not hesitate to resort to any means to bring about the end desired. At the door of these men must be laid the responsibility for the negation of civilization that grew out of the setting of their hirelings at the throats of the men marked for slaughter.

CASE OF PORTLAND MINE OWNERS' ASSOCIATION CARD MEN.

When General Bell seized the Portland mine on June 9, it was agreed that part of the mechanical force should remain at work, it being the understanding on the part of those who shut the mine down that all employes should eventually take out the card issued by the Mine-Owners' Association. Certain of the men employed by Mr. Burns declined to give themselves body and soul into the keeping of that organization, and, as a consequence, the existence of these recalcitrants was made so miserable that they decided to quit the Portland, and, in fact, had given notice of their intentions. General Bell promptly scented a conspiracy in the action of these men. A raid was made on the Portland and forty-two men were gathered in. Of these twenty-six could show cards issued by the Mine-Owners' Association, and were turned loose. Fourteen could not do so, and, as they declined to take them out, the sentence of deportation was passed upon them.

Some of the victimized men issued a statement, which I quote in part, as it shows that, in addition to the tyranny of compelling a man to enroll himself on the books of the Mine-Owners' Association, those in control of the district were so bent upon gaining complete power that they were willing to place the lives of hundreds of men in the hands of green and inexperienced men

STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE PERMITTED MINERS.

"When the mine was ordered started by the board of directors after the shut down by the military, the condition of affairs was deplorable, indeed. The powers in control issued an order that no person would be allowed to return to work unless he first take out a permit from the Mine-Owners' Association. It was very necessary to have skilled men in my department, and it was considered particularly dangerous to make radical changes in our hoisting engineers. The mine manager assured me that the men in my department would be an exception to the rule, and asked me to inform them that all that would be required in their case was a withdrawal from the federation by such as belonged. These instructions were carried out to the letter. And in spite of the intolerable conditions, as a result of the shot gun regime, many of the men, like myself, remained loyal to the company, relying implicitly on the promise given by our manager.

"All this was done in spite of the fact that it was current talk that some members of the Mine-Owners' Association had said they 'would let the old men work on the Portland until such a time as they had broken in a lot of new men, when they would be caught some night coming off shift and hanged.' The hoisting engineers knew full well that in case of any unavoidable accident to the machinery whereby any one might be injured or killed the ever-ready mob of the Mine-Owners' Association and the Citizens' Alliance in Victor would surge up the slope of Battle Mountain with rope, gun and torch, ready to do violence to the unfortunate who might perchance be at the levers at that time. Under such circumstances even the Mine-Owners' card would have been no protection, for had not deportation and beating been the lot of many who had surrendered their independence and taken out these cards? It was frankly admitted by the military authorities and by the military commission that there was not enough troops to afford protection under such circumstances.

"Such conditions prevailed until July 20, when the self-same manager (Mr. Kurie) who had given the promise mentioned above, informed me that the military commission demanded that every one in my department take out a cord, under penalty of losing his job. I was then ordered to break in a set of new men, which was refused by my expressing a willingness to resign rather than trust the lives of hundreds of men to a green man at the levers.

"On the night of this same day I was summoned before the military commissoin and 'sweated' from 11 to 1 o'clock. While this was going on an armed force went to the mines to make arrests and many were landed in the bull-pen.

"I wish to emphasize the fact that I am not a member of the Western Federation of Miners, and if any conspiracy existed on their part I am entirely ignorant of it. The conspiracy seems to be on the other side, when the mine manager conspired with the Mine-Owners' Association and the Citizens' Alliance to keep us at our posts by false representations, and when we finally refused to surrender our manhood, was willing to have us thrown in the bull-pen. The 'boys' considered that they had done enough in surrendering their affiliations with the union, without submitting to the extent of being coerced into joining a union of non-union men.

"There was no strike whatever. I was the first person to quit, and did so without urging or even asking any one else to do so. The fact of the matter is that they were nearly all driven off or taken into custody before they had a chance to quit.

"C. W. Brand,
"Master Mechanic at Portland Mine.

"The undersigned have read the foregoing statements and know them to be true:

"A. C. Johnston,
"General Master Mechanic, Portland G. M. Company.
"C. O'Rourke,
"J. R. Williams,
"Wm. McKenzie,
"Hoisting Engineers.
"R. E. King,
"Chief Electrician.
"Wm. Trevarthan,
"Fireman."

(To Be Continued Next Week.)

AUGUST BEBEL'S GREAT BOOK
WOMAN UNDER SOCIALISM
From the German by
DANIEL DE LEON
With Translator's Preface and Footnotes
PORTRAIT AND SYMBOLICAL COVER DESIGN
Cloth, 400 Pages ....Price, $1.00
Agents Wanted. Liberal Commission.

The Class Struggle

(By Mrs. Olive M. Johnson.)

(Concluded from last week.)

The modern class struggle has developed along with capitalism itself. At first, it was exclusively an economic question, i. e., the workers attempted to artificially influence the laws of capitalism and raise their wages and improve their conditions or at least to uphold their standard of living when the capitalist tendency was to force it downward. The results of the class struggle as fought by the purely economic unions, every one ought to know. At first, particularly in favored countries like Great Britain, many concessions were gained from the capitalists, and even to-day, under specially favorable circumstances, in especially favored crafts, the workers can, apparently, at least, better or uphold conditions. But as a whole, and, in fact, the pure and simple trade union has, of recent years, particularly in this country, with its peculiar economic and political conditions, been a failure. Every strike of any consequence can be described with the one word, "defeat." The leaders may shout victory but the rank and file acknowledge otherwise.

These results are nothing more than natural. On the economic field the capitalists have all the advantages—the workers cannot employ themselves but must find a boss; the average wage worker is one month from the poorhouse when his income stops; the capitalists, in most cases, can live for years on their accumulated surplus; should a capitalist fail, however, no advantage would result to the working class because his capital is then simply swallowed up by some other capitalist, a more successful labor skinner; a large army of unemployed is in competition with those workers who are fortunate enough to have a job and of the misery of these the capitalists take advantage; the capitalists have access to all the agencies of communication, the press, the postal service, the telegraph, etc., and the railroads can give quick transportation to the unemployed from distant regions into the seat of trouble; the crises are seen to occur and re-occur as regular social phenomena and, as the unions keep their members profoundly ignorant on the social question, the average workers know nothing whatsoever about the causes of crises; hence, seeing only the misery of their class, at such times they become timid and submissive and are often "thankful to have a job"; furthermore, if the workers become too stubborn in their demands for better conditions the capitalists bring the agencies of government to bear upon them and in every recent strike of any note the police force, the militia and regular army have taken important parts to "settle the trouble"; note conditions in Colorado, for example.

The greatest fault, however, of the economic union, is not so much its inability to cope with the immense powers of capitalism as the false economic principles upon which it is built, (the former, of course, is to a great extent the outgrowth of the latter). Few, if indeed any, of the economic unions, recognize the class struggle, so they build upon the stupidly false theory of "the brotherhood of capital and labor." Believing in the brotherhood of capital and labor the unions must concede the rights of the capitalists to the profits they take, must justify wage slavery, and accept the capitalist system as a finality. Their only plea resolves itself into the cry for a "fair wage"; but as neither economist, chemist, philanthropist, or any other "ist," except the Socialist—and to him they are not ready to listen yet—has been able to demonstrate what a "fair day's wage" is, their whole system becomes weak and without foundation. They may start a strike assured that one thing is "a fair wage," when the capitalists, through all the agencies at their command will "demonstrate" that they "already have run behind a long time and make no profit whatsoever," and in general that they are about the most unfairly used and abused of all suffering humanity, and that consequently "the fair day's wage" is unfair. The workers having no foundation for their stand, will often repent of their wickedness and allow themselves to be more mercilessly exploited than ever. The union movement is thus lame and ineffective and partakes of no feature of the class struggle.

Nor is this all. The union recognizing the brotherhood of capital and labor on the economic field there naturally can be no class antagonism between them on the political field. Hence the unions do not indorse and exclusively recognize a political party of the working class as the only thing a union man could and should support. A union man is "a free American citizen" and can vote as he pleases. Therefrom springs the fact that the capitalist class has found a very fruitful field of work for their politicians in these very unions. The labor leaders, or labor fakirs, as they have been styled by the Socialists, use their influence in the unions to sway the rank and file to vote for this, that or the other, capitalist candidate or party. As long as they can deliver the goods they will hold their jobs and no doubt it is the very cheapest way the capitalists can buy the workers votes en masse, as owing to the fakirs' essentially corrupt nature they are "cheap guys" after all. The sale of the unions on the political field and, in general, the leadership of such utterly corrupt and incapable leaders makes the unions, no matter what is the spirit of the rank and file, corrupt and inefficient, makes them tools in the hands of the capitalist class, makes them, in fact, capitalist institutions. The working class through pure and simpledom is being battered from pillar to post.

It is the S. L. P. alone that scientifically recognizes the class struggle and, consequently, is ready to deal with it in a logical manner. Socialist philosophy teaches that the only solution possible is *no wage at all, but to the worker the full product of his toil;* and, that no ruling class in history ever willingly renounced its position, but had to be compelled thereto by the class that suffers from its abuses; and, further, that the only solution of the question is that the means of production be taken out of the private hands of the capitalist class and made the collective property of the whole people. To accomplish this we know that we must engage in a deadly class struggle.

Learning by the failure of the economic unions that on the economic field the workers are far too weak, the Socialist Labor Party recognizes that the class struggle must mainly be fought out on the political field. There the workers can meet the capitalists, as many to one. But while the forces are taking shape for the grand struggle, the Socialist Labor Party knows that the workers must not be degraded to a status of absolute mercy on the capitalists and their lackeys. The downward tendency must be resisted. This can alone be done by an economic union. But for the Socialist Labor Party to recognize the fakir-led unions of pure and simpledom would be to essentially compromise with the enemy. Therefore the Socialist Labor Party can recognize only a union that is class-conscious, is based upon the class struggle, and politically recognizes the Socialist Labor Party as the only party of labor. Such a union is the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. These two are the instruments of the class struggle, the weapons of the coming revolution.

The End.

What Is Capital?

(By Ferdinand Lassalle.)

(Continued from last week.)

To take advantage of the need and necessities of a borrower who devoted his loan exclusively to purposes of consumption, and was not an atom the richer for it than he was before he incurred it, is on every ground shameful; and this, antiquity and the Church have both justly recognized. But loans for purposes of production are now overwhelmingly preponderant—loans which the borrower at once applies to productive [illegible]akings. Such a loan is contracted, [illegible] question, by reason of embarrass[illegible] only out of that single and [illegible] embarrassment: how to get [illegible] And, quite naturally, this sort [illegible]rrassment the lender gladly [illegible] with the borrower! In other [illegible] the productive loan is, economically speaking, a share in the profit [illegible] business; and the contradiction between the ancient and the bourgeois view of the loanmonger and usurer—both of them, observe, arrived at in consequence of the dominant economic character of loans peculiar to the respective periods—is thus cleared up by the consideration of the actual historical conditions. As, therefore, the opportunity for lending money for productive investment begins to extend more and more in one direction, actual prohibition is enforced in another; public opinion is increasingly hostile and struggles against its introduction in practice. The investment of wealth in foreign production (and by its investment in his own natural sphere of production the investor remains, always "master," never as yet "capitalist") therefore always forms a relatively insignificant part of the ancient investment of wealth.

"Almost wholly in landed possession, a trifle out at interest." Such, even at so late a period as that of Pliny, is the statement of the wealth of a Roman senator. Even of so proverbially wealthy a man as Crassus, Plutarch says, when he enumerates his various properties, silver mines, landed estates, agricultural slaves, etc., "all this is really nothing in comparison with the value of his domestic slaves, so many and so admirable were they, readers, writers, silver-testers, overseers, attendants, etc."

Almost all these slaves were means of enjoyment. The ancient economic system, which in its active shape is "lordship," not "capital," develops into such means of enjoyment, not into "capital." There were instruments of labor, means of enjoyment, values and riches in the ancient world, but still no "capital." Estimated by this dominant form of the entire system, there was still no "productivity of capital" when, for instance, Sophocles makes his slaves carry on a sword factory. In this case of manufacture with a view to trade the "natural" character of the economic system first disappears. But, on the other hand, the characteristic of actual personal mastership remains unchanged in this form of production; and, secondly, this manufacture is first carried on only in commerce, which, as already stated, is already sufficiently developed. These slaves now produce all the articles of consumption which their owner wants in the form of swords, which are exchanged for those articles of direct consumption; but these swords fulfill their function as articles of use or enjoyment, or, in shape of money, act as the means of purchasing all articles of use or enjoyment, and thus represent only these latter. But the swords do not yet appear in the form of prolific capital in its own free and independent productiveness, in its power; that is, of piling up interest for its possessor.

No doubt the first step is already taken in this manufacture with direct reference to the value in exchange of what is produced. But this first step itself finds a stumbling block in the way of its further progress in the shape of the entire social and economic environment of the ancient world. The wealth and gold of antiquity formed the capitalist embryo out of which capital itself was later developed. But the development of that wealth into the specific and individual form of capital had not as yet by any means taken place.

(To Be Continued Next Week.)

GENERAL AGITATION FUND.

During the week ending with January 14, the following amounts were received for the above fund:

John Plamondon, N. Y.	$1.00
K. Georgewitch, Schenectady, N. Y.	.25
Max Heyman, N. Y.	1.00
John Lidberg, St. Paul, Minn.	1.00
"Discipline," Newark, N. J. (on $1 monthly pledge)	3.00
A. Touroff, Brooklyn, N. Y. (on $1 monthly pledge)	1.00
Frank A. Bohn, commission on People subs. to Dec. 31	9.50
Frank H. Bohn, commission on literature to Dec. 31	3.22
Eugene Fischer, N. Y., (on 50c. weekly pledge)	1.00
D. Baer, N. Y.	.25
M. Weinberger, N. Y. (on 15c. weekly pledge)	.15
Miss C. Weinberger, N. Y. (on 15c. weekly pledge)	.15
Holger Schmalfuss, Pittsfield, Mass. (on $1 monthly pledge)	1.00
F. Metzger, Paducah, Ky. (on 50c. monthly pledge)	1.00
Collected from members in New York and Brooklyn as follows: Ivo Baldelli, $1; John Beehler, 25c.; A. C. Kihn, $1.50; F. Brauchmann, 50c.; J. Stegeman, 25c.; E. Muller, 25c.; Paul Muller, 25c.; A. Gleiforst, 25c.; L. O., 25c.; S. Kober, 50c.; E. C. Schmidt, 50c.; John Zoeller, $1; Walter Harrison, 25c.; A. Scheftel, 25c.; Chas. Rohde, 25c.; Cash, 50c.; P. Keneyo, 50c.; E. H. Brune, 50c.; Cash, 50c.; J. L. Brennan, 25c.; H. Teichlauf, 25c.; W. I., 25c.; J. Ebert, $1; C. Rubin, 50c.; I. Sauthoff, 25c.; H. W., 50c.; A. Francis, $2; Fred Isler, 50c.; Cash, 50c.; John L. Howard, 25c.; M. Blumenthal, 15c.; H. Olson, $1; A. Levine, $1; H. Fradkin, $1; P. Augustine, $1	10.00
Louis Miller	.25
Total	$43.42
Previously acknowledged	$185.24
Grand total	$228.66

Henry Kuhn,
National Secretary.

CHRISTMAS FUND—1904.

Previously acknowledged	$49.25
M. Eisenberg, Cincinnati, O.	1.00
A. Steinberg, New York	1.00
Miss A. Heyman, City	2.00
Max Heyman, City	2.00
E. E. Ronner, Chinese Camp, Cal.	2.50
H. Riya, New York City	2.00
A. Schmidt, 6th A. D., Brooklyn	1.00
J. C. Custer, Bridgeport, Conn.	2.00
Total	$62.75

Bohn in Illinois

St. Louis, Jan. 13.—He who wishes to study American capitalism at its highest stage of development industrially, and in its rawest state socially, will find in Chicago by far the finest opportunity. Imagine a city as large in area as New York with street-car service like that of an overgrown village in a border State ten years ago; where black mud lies four to five inches deep on the pavement of important business streets and in well-built suburbs; where the cold, damp winds are always laden with smoke so thick that the workers die of consumption before rheumatism has a chance. The prevailing standard of social life in Chicago requires of the capitalist class neither false morality nor bogus conscience. So Mr. Capitalist does not give much in "charity" as does his New York or Boston cousin. Cripples, small children and aged workers, lie by hundreds in the frozen filth of the streets, pleading for a cent or a morsel of food. In the sense in which the term is used in Europe or in the Eastern States, the city cannot be said to have a municipal government. Public parks and libraries, those cheap means of making the working class think somebody cares for them during their one hour of leisure per day, are almost non-existent. The only outward sign of the fact of an organized municipal life one observes in Chicago, is the large number of policemen, bestial in appearance, who clog traffic in the streets. It is commonly known, in fact, the matter hardly causes comment, that they are the very worst thugs and robbers which the slums can provide. But this, of course, is of little interest to the workers, who, as elsewhere, have nothing to be stolen. Between the Chicago capitalist and the block there appears no impediment in the shape of a single redeeming feature. As vulgar and vile as he is ignorant and greedy, it never occurs to him to take the precautions elsewhere thought of to keep the workers in bondage. Perhaps to this, more than to peculiar conditions among the working class, is due the reputation of Chicago as "the most revolutionary city in the United States." If mere striking back in rage is a sign of the revolutionary spirit, this reputation is borne out by the facts.

Chicago is seething with discontent. But its working class has not yet developed a revolutionary nucleus which is both clear and powerful. The S. L. P. Section, though vigorous, is small. There also have been signs of spontaneous combustion on the part of the working class element in the large "Socialist" party local. But the crust of middle-class leadership, which, to secure votes, has hitherto been in a state of abject bondage to a coterie of the worst labor fakirs in the country, is too thick to be broken. The 1904 convention of the leaders, however, was a little too much for some, and about eighty working-class members crawled out from under the crust and organized the "Independent Socialist Club." Finding myself one day in front of their reading room and headquarters, I entered and made the acquaintance of such as were present. It was certainly a pleasure to note their clearness of thought in both Socialist economics and tactics. About twenty copies of the Weekly People are sold each week and a great deal of our literature is disposed of. One is led to question just why a group like this, teaching political action on the part of the working class, remains outside the S. L. P. For the S. L. P. stands for those very principles the lack of which caused their secession from the fraternity of the half-baked.

What Section Chicago, S. L. P., lacks in numbers it makes up in activity. During the last part of the campaign it held eight open-air meetings per week. If Section New York would hold as many in proportion to its number of members, Socialism would be preached to Gotham workers a hundred and fifty times every seven days. Chicago's method is worth careful consideration.

At the opening of the campaign they had but one speaker. This speaker drilled an assistant who served as chairman and spoke as long as the spirit gave him utterance. As soon as he was sure of himself for half an hour he was given an assistant and sent out to hold a meeting without speaker No. 1, who proceeded to drill another man. Thus three teams were developed. The large vote of the S. L. P. in Chicago was due to hard work. Next summer the same method will be pursued, and by September 1, Chicago will hold as many meetings as Greater New York. Our Chicago comrades think that one regular speaker is enough for any outdoor meeting.

From Chicago I proceeded to Moline and Rock Island, on the Mississippi. These "prosperous" towns are directly across the river from Davenport, Iowa. The three together have about 100,000 people. In Moline, farming machinery plants and in Rock Island the great United States Arsenal are the chief buyers in the slave mart. In the former place the effective work of Comrade Ahlberg had given us that foothold which is the delight of the organizer. Working together we secured eighteen subscribers for The People and one for the "Arbeiter-Zeitung" during my stay. Six workers were induced to apply for membership-at-large. Electing at once a secretary and literary agent, our Moline comrades will prepare for the organization of a full-fledged Section next summer.

At Davenport an interesting and strikingly suggestive situation presented itself. I knew nothing of the state of Socialist sentiment in the place beyond the fact that a half-dozen Weeklies regularly carried their message to Davenport workers. What was my surprise and pleasure to discover that the half-dozen were all young men, late members of the "Socialist" party, anxious to organize a Section of the S. L. P. None of our organizers or speakers had visited their town since 1899. Not one of the prospective members had ever come in contact with our organization. Unaided they had become revolutionary Socialists and were ready to enlist. We arranged for a meeting on the evening of December 26. As Comrade Ahlberg and I rode across the great river to the meeting place, a cold, drenching rain was falling and we vainly congratulated ourselves for performing our duty upon such an occasion, when no one else would be out. When we arrived at the meeting place the new comrades were found to have been more prompt than we. Soon there came another. Comrade Kremer, aged eighty-four years, who had walked a mile in the rain to be with us. He entertained us with stories of his personal relations with Marx and Engels in Germany, sixty years ago, and of the many perplexing crises which the movement has experienced since then. His application card went in with the others.

Another visitor at our meeting was a Mr. Gibson, leader of the "Socialist" party in Rock Island. For all I know he is spreading the gospel of Socialism to the best of his knowledge and ability. Personally he is an exceptionally pleasant man to meet. At the moment of his arrival we were just at the point of asking and answering the questions on the application card. When we came to old No. 9, the following conversation took place:

Mr. Gibson—"You permit your members to join the pure and simple unions. Does not that make them as much responsible for their conduct as though they were officers?"

Organizer—"You are a citizen of the capitalist State, Mr. Gibson. If you were not you could take no part in the political life of society. The situation is similar in the case of some workingmen and the bogus unions. They must belong to them to make a living. Does the fact of your citizenship render you as responsible for the oppression of the working class through capitalist government, as though you were an officer of that government? Is your question answered?"

Chorus of young S. L. P. comrades—"It ought to be."

Mr. Gibson—"But WE can answer all your questions satisfactorily. I see no reason at all for a difference or for a separate organization."

Organizer—"Then why, if no fault can be found with S. L. P. principles, was there ever a second party started. A single party is always sufficient to uphold a single set of principles. Perhaps you can give us a satisfactory reason for the existence of your party. We have never heard one."

Mr. Gibson (a few minutes later)—"I guess I'll go home. It is already late. I've remained long enough. I am sure I wish you success. You know where our meetings are held. We shall be glad to see you there."

Comrade Behrens—"Yes, yes, we shall come occasionally. I'll not even turn in my card, as I wish to keep it as a relic. Good night."

None know so well as those prominent in the "Socialist" party that they have an elephant on their hands—a big elephant, swollen and polluted from a loathsome disease—Opportunism. Now it has fallen across their path and refuses to die or move out of their way.

At Moline, I ran the guard line of the great Derre-Mansure Plow shops. This is a "closed" shop in two senses. Speaking to a small group I took three subscriptions for The People and advertised a meeting to be held on the floor of the shop Friday noon. On Friday I was again successful in getting in and spoke to fifty men on the subject, "Socialism and Unionism." Never have I received closer attention. They were a unit in agreeing with our policy. Several more subscribed for the paper and I sold nine books. One machinist said, "I have believed in that kind of unionism for ten years."

The field is dead ripe for the development of a class-conscious industrial union such as the S. T. & L. A. There is now no longer any acceptable excuse for the hibernation of S. L. P. workers during the winter months. In all large cities there are some shops to which you can gain admittance and plant S. T. & L. A. seed.

After visiting Kewanee my labors in Illinois were completed by a short talk on the occasion of Section Peoria's New Year's celebration. It was a fine event. A mixed chorus rendered revolutionary songs. The right arm of Section Peoria is the large Ladies' Socialist Auxiliary. The more material part of the entertainment, furnished by the Auxiliary, was of the kind which lays hold upon the memory of a wandering organizer. Even if the young people were more interested in the coming dance than in the teachings of Socialism, which I was supposed to make clear to them, their presence alone showed the fine future which Section Peoria has if its exceptional opportunity for agitation be not neglected.

* * *

My contribution to the discussion of "Bulgaria or Italy" remains unfinished. Because of sickness, I have been able to attend to only most pressing duties. With the publication of these articles in the special edition, the discussion, I presume, may be considered closed. What I meant to show in conclusion, briefly stated, was this:

Millions of the working class are tired of fakirism, and are ready to be organized into a gigantic industrial union, class-conscious and revolutionary in nature. The membership of the S. L. P., by joining the S. T. & L. A. and pushing its work can be a great influence in the development of this phase of the movement. Should the present great opportunity be neglected, we as a political organization cannot develop the strength we need for our mission. That mission, for the present, is the unifying of the Socialist movement in America, not through compromise, but through a mighty propaganda of sound political and economic doctrine.

By the time this report appears in the columns of The People, other and somewhat unlooked for developments will be under discussion. May every member of the S. L. P. and S. T. & L. A. give that thoughtful consideration to the new problem, which the welfare of our movement in the future demands of us in the present.

FRANK BOHN.

BOOK LIST

Paper Bound Socialist Books and Propaganda Pamphlets.

American Farmer	$ 05
Behind the Scenes	05
Class Struggle, Karl Kautsky	05
Capitalist Class, Karl Kautsky	05
Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels	10
Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels, Danish and Norwegian	15
Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science. Frederick Engels	05
Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon, Karl Marx	25
Erin's Hope, James Connolly	03
Factory Work, Morris	03
Historical Materialism, Engels	05
Life of Engels, Karl Kautsky	10
Money, De Leon	03
Ninth Convention S. L. P.	10
No Compromise, Liebknecht	10
Reform or Revolution, De Leon	05
Reform or Revolution (Italian)	05
Religion of Capital, Lafargue	05
Right to Be Lazy, Lafargue	10
Science and the Worker, Ferdinand Lassalle	25
Socialism and Evolution, Dr. H. S. Aley	05
Socialism: What It Is, Liebknecht	10
Socialism vs. Anarchism, De Leon	02
Socialism, Wm. Scholl McClure	05
Socialist Almanac	50
Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance Versus the "Pure and Simple" Trade Union, De Leon-Harriman Debate	05
Socialist Republic, Karl Kautsky	05
Silver Cross, Eugene Sue	25
Taxation	05
Tenth Convention S. L. P.	50
Territorial Expansion	05
The Burning Question of Trades Unionism, De Leon	05
The Mark, Frederick Engels	05
The Party Press, Illustrated	25
The Trusts	05
Tragic Pages, From the History of Strikes Among the Miners	05
Two Pages from Roman History, Daniel De Leon	15
Value, Price and Profit, Karl Marx	15
What Is Capital? Lassalle	05
What Means This Strike? De Leon	05
What Means This Strike? (German)	05
What Means This Strike? (Italian)	05
What Means This Strike? (Yiddish)	05
Working Class, Karl Kautsky	05
Workingmen's Programme, Ferdinand Lassalle	10

Labor Song—Words and Music.

The Workingmen's Marseillaise	15

We Also Have These Books in Stock.

They are Utopian Socialism, Reform and Radical Bourgeois, and possess historic value:

Age of Reason, Paine	$ 25
Capitalism on Trial	05
Common Sense, Paine	15
Economies of Spencer	25
Fabian Essays	25
Malthusianism and Socialism, A Debate, Moss and Quelch	05
Merrie England, Blatchford	10
News from Nowhere	25
Rights of Man, Paine	25
The Crisis, Paine	25

RELIABLE WORKS ON HISTORY AND SCIENCE.

Cloth Bound Books.

Ancient Society, Lewis Morgan	4.00
Capital, Karl Marx	1.75
Descent of Man, Charles Darwin	75
Force and Matter Buechner	1.00
History of Civilization in England, Buckle (2 vols.)	4.00
History of the Conflict Between Religion and Science, Draper	1.75
Intellectual Development of Europe John W. Draper, (2 vols)	3.00
Origin of Species, Darwin	75
Origin of the Family, Engels	50
Paris Commune, Karl Marx	50
Paris Commune, Lissagaray	50
Proceedings of the Tenth National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party	1.00
Revolution and Counter Revolution, Karl Marx	1.00
Silver Cross, Eugene Sue	25
Socialism and Modern Science, Enrico Ferri	1.00
Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, Frederick Engels	50
Socialist Almamnic	1.00
Students' Marx, Edward Aveling	1.00
The Ideal City, Noto	75
The Pilgrim's Shell; or Fergan The Quarryman, Sue	75
Value, Price and Profit, Marx	50
Wage Labor and Capital: Free Trade, Karl Marx	50
Woman Under Socialism, Bebel	1.00

Four-Page Leaflets.

$1.25 per Thousand. 15 Cents per Hundred, Assorted.

Arbitration.
Old and New Trades Unions.
A Plain Statement of Facts.
Cuba, China and the Philippines.
Manifesto of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.
Attitude of the Socialist Labor Party Towards Trades Unions.
The Difference.
Union Wreckers.
Where Wages Come From.
Why Strikes Are Lost.
The Modern Tragedy or The Downfall of the Small Producer.
A Fair Day's Wages for a Fair Day's Work.
Some Things a Workingman Should Know.
How the Landlords Manage to Live in Idleness and Luxury.
Middle Class Municipalization and the Municipal Programme of the Socialist Labor Party.

Arm and Hammer.

Emblem Buttons, 5c....25c. per dozen
Oxydized Bronze Buttons, Rolled Gold Screw Back, 50c. each.
Solid Gold Emblem Pins......$1 each
Solid Gold Emblem Rings....$1.75 each
Marx Buttons ....20c. per dozen
" Scarfpin ....15c. each
" Pin ....5c. each
" Breastpin ....25c each

We have the finest copyright lithographs of Karl Marx ever printed, (21x28 inches), mailed in tubes, postpaid, 25c. each Section price 20c.

CANVASSERS WANTED in every city and town. Special discount. Write for terms.

New York Labor News Co., 2-6 New Reade Street, New York.

WHY NOT READ THE

DAILY PEOPLE

GET ALL OF THE PARTY NEWS, ALL OF THE PEOPLE EDITORIALS AND COMMENTS, THE SUNDAY ISSUE INCLUDED.

There are fully 140 columns more new matter in the Daily and Sunday during the seven days of the week, than in the Weekly. Become a reader of the Daily and get all of the news and get it earlier. It costs you only 40 cents a month, or $1.00 for three months. Try it.

Headquarters, Section Minneapolis,
S. L. P., 34-36 Washington Avenue, South.
Reading Room Open from 9 A. M. Till 9. P. M.
All Socialist Books, Leaflets and Papers Indorsed by the Party for Sale.

WEEKLY PEOPLE
2, 4 and 6 New Reade St., New York.
P. O. Box 1576. Tel. 129 Franklin.

Published Every Saturday by the Socialist Labor Party.

Entered as second-class matter at the New York postoffice, July 13, 1900.

Owing to the limitations of this office, correspondents are requested to keep a copy of their articles, and not to expect them to be returned. Consequently, no stamps should be sent for return.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES:

In 1888	2,068
In 1892	21,157
In 1896	36,564
In 1900	34,191
In 1904	34,172

Who is it will not dare himself to
trust?
Who is it that has not strength to stand
alone?
Who is it thwarts and bilks the inward
MUST?
He and his works like sand from earth
are blown.

—LOWELL.

EVENTS THAT ARE APPROACHING.

On the first column, front page, of this issue an article will be found entitled "Preliminary Explosion," or "Volcanic Rumblings Coming to a Head." The article is a report from the Socialist Labor Party's and the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance's national organizer, Frank Bohn, now on a Western tour in behalf of both organizations. The article merits careful reading and re-reading. It merits study. The event therein reported may mark an epoch in the Labor Movement of America. It may be the harbinger of that long looked-for event, certain sooner or later to happen,—the arrival of the re-inforcements that will insure victory to the Cause that the fort of the Socialist Labor Party, besieged and proof against all the violent assaults directed against it during the last eight and nine years, has vindicated and upheld. The manifesto referred to in Bohn's report, about to be issued from the headquarters of the American Labor Union in Chicago, and bearing his own signature, along with the signatures of others who are not members of the S. L. P., has not yet arrived. Until its arrival no accurate opinion can be formed. Surmise alone is possible until then. In the surmise, however, a number of facts may help in forming an approximate opinion; these facts may, at least, outline that for which there is just ground for expectation.

The Cause whose colors the Socialist Labor Party has nailed to its flagstaff is the unconditional surrender of the Capitalist Class, the absolute emancipation of the Working Class. Free from the illusions that flow but too naturally from the inevitable political aspect of the issue, the Socialist Labor Party planted itself squarely upon the economic, or Trades Union organization of the American proletariat. Whatever other course European, or conditions elsewhere permitted, American conditions dictated none other. To sum up the conclusions led to by the several links of the Party's reasoning, the Party held that the day of the political victory of Socialism in America would be the day of its defeat, if on that day the Working Class of the land was not found solidly organized on the industrial field, ready, integrally, to carry on the Nation's production. The Party's reasoning predicated, on the one hand, industrial directness of motion upon the political principle, and, on the other, the political unity requisite for effective political victory, upon industrial solidarity. The Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance sprang from that perception.

The birth of the S. T. & L. A., together with the pointed S. L. P. and S. T. & L. A. agitation that followed, wrought a revolution, with a consequent complete re-alignment of forces. Only then did the lines begin to be drawn, on either side of which were to be finally marshalled the destined combatants in the great historic drama of our generation that is to be enacted on American soil—the battle for the emancipation of Labor. The re-alignment affected the tactics of the Movement all along the line of economic as well as of political propaganda. All the forces that make for Capitalism, or for the only alternative, the Coolification of the American people, set in motion. One touch of the right tactics, finally struck, made them all kin. The combined standards of the S. L. P. and the S. T. & L. A., whose device was the soldification of Labor on the industrial field, ranked its few supporters on one side of the line; on the other side stood the hosts whose practice, whatever their piebald professions, kept Labor dismembered. The ensign of these was the obscene labarum of Gompers' A. F. of L. Every year, thereafter, marked wider and deeper the line of cleavage. Nor was there any doubt, despite deceiving appearances, that, despite the disparity of initial numbers and material resources between the two, the correct principle of the S. T. & L. A., coupled to the strength that Right ever imparts, restored the equilibrium of forces. Vehement was the struggle, and continues to be. The very vehemence aided clarification, and counteracted the dense cloud of calumny that Wrong sought to hide under. Right steadily made inroad upon Wrong. The standard of the A. F. of L. now droops visibly, despite its now unconcealed Civic Federation and other capitalist props: the standard of the S. T. & L. A. flutters ever more defiant, conscious of ascendency.

These are facts. When to them is coupled the fact that the language and posture of the "American Labor Union Journal" has for now nearly a year leaned nearer and nearer towards the attitude of the S. T. & L. A.; the further fact that volcanic rumblings have recently increased in frequency and vehemence in the camp of the "Socialist" party, which, at its last national convention all but endorsed the Labor-disrupting A. F. of L. by name, and certainly endorsed its practices; the further fact that Frank Bohn is a trusty national organizer of the S. L. P. and of the S. T. & L. A., well grounded in the principles of both;—when these and many more facts of kindred nature are considered, then, indeed, the passages in Bohn's report—"He (Trautman, of the International Union Brewery Workmen, and one of the conferees) added: 'It will be said that we are practically accepting the principles of the S. T. & L. A. Yes, we are. We must come to that. They are the right principles';" and "A leading member of the A. L. U. stated to me in private conversation: 'It is plain that the fight which De Leon and the S. L. P. have been making all these years is the right fight to make'"—then, indeed, these passages sound not only natural, they sound not only gladsome, but they justify their being considered as torches by which to read not only the report that Bohn sends, not only the manifesto that his report preludes, but also the lettering on the wall of events that are approaching.

THE IDENTICAL ROUNDELAY.

The world is one city, so runs an ancient proverb. A more modern and more poetic version is to the effect that one touch of nature makes the whole world kin. An adaptation of this last version with an eye especially to social science might be made to read: "One turn of the screw of Revolution makes all usurpers chirp one roundelay." Prince Hilkoff, the Russian Minister of Railroads, furnishes a matchless and latest illustration of this great truth.

Now that all Russia seems to be in a revolutionary ferment against the misrule and despotism of Czarism, and is demanding a "Constitution", Prince Hilkoff comes forward with the polite declaration that "the Czar is striving earnestly to accomplish the reforms which the country needs", but, he declares, "the questions involved are too vital to permit of a solution in the haste of passion"; the gentleman warns his beloved fellow subjects that "conditions are not ripe for a constitution", and he closes with the plaint that "the vast majority of the people lack elemental education". It would be a digression from the point in view to interpellate the noble Prince and ask him:

"The Czar has had things all his own way for, lo, these many generations. What you call 'earnestly striving' on the Czar's part to accomplish the reforms which you now admit 'the country needs', has been given a thorough trial. What success has HIS striving met with? According to your own words, 'the conditions are not ripe' for these reforms, and you explain why: 'the vast majority of the people lack elemental education.' His failure is complete. The intentional keeping of 'conditions unripe' by keeping the 'vast majority of the people' without 'elemental education' could have done no worse than what you call his 'earnest striving' in the opposite direction. Will there ever be a time when the unripeness will have turned to ripeness if he and you and your set are left alone? Would you ever consider a reform that clips your usurpers' wings, a demand made otherwise than 'in the haste of passion'? Is not any and every demand, that threatens a despot's power, a thing that moves at a pace too 'hasty' to suit the despot's convenience? Could any such demand ever move at a step slow enough to suit you?"

Such is the interpellation that forces itself upon the mind. But it shall be here repressed, in order not to lose sight of the point in view. The point in view is that Prince Hilkoff's words have a decidedly familiar sound. Tho' he be a Russian, and our own despot, the Capitalist Class, be American, his language is theirs exactly whenever American Labor demands any improvement in the existing institutions, especially if the demand is for Socialism. Then OUR Princes—not here named Hilkoff, but known here as Prince Railroad, or Duke Sugar Trust, or Count Standard Oil, or Marquis What-not, etc., etc.,—if their language is not couched in spiked policemen's clubs, Gatling guns on paper, or the rattle of musketry, they ever courteously inform the Working Class that they (our Princes) are "earnestly striving to accomplish the reforms which the country needs", but that "the questions involved are too vital to permit of a solution in the haste of passion"; that such things must be done slowly, calmly deliberately; that "investigating committee must first make a careful examination and report the facts"; and that while these committees are investigating (read junketing), the workers should wait patiently, because they "lack elemental education" and "conditions are not yet ripe for their demands". The language of our own American despot, ever echoed by his A. F. of L. labor lieutenants, is Prince Hilkoff's at all points. Also our American despot and his labor lieutenant satraps could be interpellated in the words that Prince Hilkoff might be interpellated. They also could be asked whether the emancipation of the Working Class could possibly move at a pace slow enough to suit the beneficiaries of capitalist usurpation.

But we shall refrain. Instructive enough, for the present, is the fact that one turn of the Revolutionary screw makes all usurpers chirp the identical roundelay—whether Russian or American.

M'MACKIN A SCAPE-GOAT.

The excuse given by Commissioner McMackin for the large number of children found illegally employed in 2,607 factories in this State is a convincing one. He says: "I had to enforce the new law considerately". That should settle the question.

McMackin is a product of the Gompers A. F. of L. so-called "labor organization". The Gompers body proceeds from the theory that the capitalist has rights, and that the part of "practical" Labor is to "get along comfortably with the capitalist". The Gompers body does not deny that Labor also has some rights, but it holds that the two sets of rights are identical, at least "reciprocal", according to the phrase that Hanna coined and his labor-lieutenant Mitchell repeats. Several conclusions in the nature of general principles follow, as night follows day, from such premises:

1st, The capitalist's Right being unquestionably the most comfortably situated, and admittedly so, the workingman's Right stands in the relation of a horse ridden by a rider, the Capitalist being the rider, Labor the horse;

2nd, Seeing that a spavined or wind-broken horse is a slow means of locomotion, and even endangers the rider's limb and life; and seeing also that a weak rider may cause his mount to stumble and fall, to the injury of both, the interests of rider and horse are mutual, or "reciprocal"; and

3rd, Seeing that the rider does not ride the horse for the horse's health but for his, the rider's benefit, no law that affects rider and horse is intelligently enforced if enforced without consideration, first, for the rider, and only secondly for the horse.

It can not be denied by any truthful man, if he be sane, or any sane man if he be truthful, that Labor Commissioner McMackin has deported himself in strict accordance with the above canons of Capitalist Society, or of A. F. of L. "organized laborism".

Factory laws, intended to protect the workingman's children, are in the nature of anti-cruelty-to-animals laws, intended to protect riders' horses. The two sets of laws reason along identical lines. It, obviously, would have been an infraction of his oath of office had the Labor Commissioner enforced the child-labor law in any way to interfere with the social status of riding Capitalism and ridden Labor. He enforced the law "considerately": he says so himself: the facts prove him truthful. In 2,607 instances, he considerately left the child under the rider. Had he done otherwise, he would have been decidedly inconsiderate, inconsiderate of the rider, certainly entitled to first consideration, and who would have suffered had his horse had precedence over him in the attention of the Commissioner. Indeed, any other conduct on the part of the Commissioner would have been revolutionary.

Labor Commissioner McMackin should be reappointed by our capitalist State Government. And yet it is quite possible that he may be fired out. It is no uncommon spectacle in history that of a despot sacrificing a trusty favorite to the howl of a hair-brained mob, and thus pacifying unthinking opposition while appointing a substitute who, in the very nature of things, will act no otherwise than his predecessor.

FORUM RULES BROKEN.

It is not the fair thing to take advantage of an adversary's slip. For once, however, we shall be deliberately unfair. On the second of this month Judge J. Ward Healey delivered an address in Leominster, Mass., before a club called the Forum. The address was on "Education," and the Judge opened his address with the statement that he decided to accept the invitation when informed that "the Forum was patterned after that famous body of ancient Rome, where every one was privileged to present his views and arguments." On this principle, the Judge invited the severest criticism. Now, it so happens that "that famous body of ancient Rome," known as the forum, was one in which "everybody" was not allowed to "present his views and arguments." Only the officers of the government were allowed to do so; the masses had to keep respectful silence, interrupted only by their vote: they could say "Aye" or they could say "Nay," and that was the limit of their "presentation of their views and arguments." We certainly, the memories of the Rome forum being invoked, would have kept our peace, except to utter as loud a "Nay!" as possible to the Judge's views. But the Judge having slipped and invited an un-forum-like criticism, we shall avail ourselves of the slip to demolish the gentleman's arguments.

Judge Healey argues for "practical education." He realizes that man does not live by bread alone, and, on the other hand that mental and moral training, without bread, stand on loose foundation. The Judge, accordingly, favors greatly the moral and intellectual development of the child that good schooling in these directions will impart; but he realizes that SOMETHING must be done to enable the child to earn a living when he is grown to manhood, and he correctly indicates that that SOMETHING remains to be done. So far Judge Healey is a veritable Daniel come to judgment. From there on, however, the learned gentleman becomes a Dogberry. That SOMETHING, according to the Judge, is "manual training." Plenty and good "manual training," and the problem is solved. Evidently Judge Healey has run up against the Social Question like a compassless and rudderless ship may be imagined to run up the beach on a moonless night.

The problem is: How can a relatively and absolutely increasing working class be able to find employment under a social system where the number of workers needed must relatively decline?

Obviously, under such circumstances "manual," or any other training, is like a plaster on a wooden leg. So long as the superior training is shared by only a few, these few may have advantages over the many. But just as soon as the training becomes general, it can no longer affect any worker for the better. The only difference would be that the employing or capitalist class will be able to make still larger profits. All superior qualifications of Labor cannot choose but fall to the credit of that dog in the manger class that holds the plants of production without which the workingman cannot exercise his labor power.

The solution of the problem against which Judge Healey has bumped his nose will not be found in making the working class more proficient wage slaves. Work for all can come only when the opportunity for earning a living shall be free—and that is out of all question when the land on, and the capital wit which to work are private property; it can only come about by making the citizens collectively the owners of the necessaries for work—THAT is the SOMETHING needed.

A more proficient, but toolless, Working Class, Your Honor, will be all the more helplessly plundered; on the other hand, a tool-owning Working Class, however unskilled to start with, will speedily rise to the highest notch of proficiency. The fruits of labor being guaranteed, as they can be guaranteed only under Socialism, the incentive to proficiency will take care of the rest.

Attorney-General Moody's onslaughts against the Beef Trust are true, but not terrifying to the magnates composing it. They have experienced anti-trust prosecution so often that they have become past masters in the art of adapting their corporate interests to whatever legal conditions may arise; hence their calm composure.

The re-election of Mitchell as head of the miners, reflects the power of capitalist economics and the check-off system over one of the largest "labor" organizations in the country. Only class-conscious Socialism can break that power. And, unless all signs fail, the miners are slowly, very slowly, becoming tinctured with it. It remains for all class-conscious Socialists to hasten the process.

Arson and dearth still continue to be advocated in the South, as means whereby the riches of the capitalist may be increased and the poverty of society intensified. The National Ginners' Association announces meetings in various States to promote holdings and acreage reductions.

Those ungrateful railroad workers! Despite old-age pensions, sick benefits and insurance, they are talking strike on the Pennsylvania R. R. "Philanthropy at four per cent." and reduced working forces, is more than the most conservative railroad employes can stand.

THE SLAVE MARKET

The following is a passage from one of Eugene Sue's marvellous series of stories entitled "History of a Proletarian Family". The passage describes an incident in one of the slave markets that were set up after some Roman victory, when the captives were retailed by the slave-dealers to whom they were sold wholesale. A captive, thus being retailed to a Roman centurion and who, in regulation style had been drugged to look docile and anointed to look supple, tells his experience:

The dealer lifted from my shoulders the woolen covering in which I was wrapped, and left me stripped to the waist; he thereupon made me get out of my breeches also. My master, with the mien of a man proud of his merchandise, thus exposed my nakedness to the customer.

Several of the curious, assembled outside of the stall, looked in and contemplated me. I dropped my eyes in shame and sorrow not in anger.

After the prospective purchaser read the writing which hung from my neck, he looked me over carefully, answering with affirmative nods of the head to what the merchant, with his usual volubility, was saying to him in Latin. Often he stopped to measure with his spread-out fingers, the size of my chest, the thickness of my arms, or the width of my shoulders.

His first examination must have pleased the centurion, for my master said to me: "Be proud for your master, friend Bull, your build is formed faultless.' See, —I just said to the customer—would not the Grecian sculptors have taken this superb slave as a model for a Hercules!' My customer, agreed with me. Now you must show him that your strength and agility are not inferior to your appearance."

My master pointed to a lead weight in readiness for the trial, and said to me while loosening my arms:

"Now put on your breeches again, then take this weight in your two hands, lift it over your head, and hold it there as long as you can."

I was about to do as I was bid in my stupid docility, when the centurion stooped toward the weight and attempted to lift it from the ground, which he did with much difficulty, while my master said to me:

"This mischievous cripple is as foxy as myself. He knows that many dealers use hollow weights which appear to weigh two or three times as much as they actually do. Come, friend Bull, show this suspicious fellow that you are as powerfully as you are well-built."

My strength was not yet entirely returned. Nevertheless, I took the heavy weight in my hands, throwing it over my head, and balanced it there a moment. A vague idea flitted at that instant across my mind to let the weight fall on my master's skull, and thus crush him at my feet. But that gleam of my bygone courage died out, and I dropped the weight on the ground. The lame Roman seemed satisfied.

"Better and better, friend Bull," said my master to me, "by Hercules, your patron God, never did a slave do more honor to his owner. Your strength is demonstrated. Now let us witness your agility. Two keepers will hold this wooden bar about a yard from the ground. Although your feet are in chains, you will jump over the bar several times. Nothing will better prove the strength and nimbleness of your muscles."

In spite of my recent wounds, and the weight of my chain, I leaped several times with my joined feet over the bar to the added satisfaction of the centurion.

"Better and better," repeated my master. "You are proven as strong as you are powerfully built, and as limber as both. It now remains to exhibit the inoffensive gentleness of your nature. As to this last proof, I am in advance certain of your success," saying which he again bound my hands behind my back.

At first I did not understand what the dealer meant. But he took a scourge from the hand of a keeper, and pointing with its handle to me, spoke to the purchaser in a low voice. The latter made a gesture of assent, and my master passed the scourge over to the centurion.

"The old fox, still suspicious, fears that I would not strike you hard enough, friend Bull," my master explained to me. "Come, do not make a slip. Do me this last honor, and gain me this last profit, by showing that you endure chastisement patiently."

Hardly had he pronounced these words, when the cripple rained a shower of blows on my shoulders and chest. I felt neither shame nor indignation, only pain. I fell down on my knees in tears and begged for mercy. Outside, the curious crowd, gathered at the door, roared with laughter.

The centurion, surprised at so much resignation in a Gaul, dropped the whip, and looked at my master who by his gesture seemed to say:

"Did I deceive you?"

Thereupon, patting me with the flat of his hand on my lacerated back, the same as one would pat an animal that pleased him, my master said to me:

"If you are a bull for strength, you are a lamb for meekness."

Is the above recount of no living interest to us in America? We are no heathen Romans. What is more, did we not go through a bloody civil war and "smote the shackles from the slave"? That slave's account can, then, be only of historic interest to us, interest in the history of conditions long ago gone by? Let's see.

From the North window of the editorial room of the Daily People, in which this article is written, a certain spectacle can be seen almost any forenoon in the week. A crowd, rarely below 50, often larger, presses against the iron door of the power-house of the Interborough Traction Company. The men are all robust; none other need apply, according to the advertisement that summoned them. From time to time the iron door turns slightly on its hinges; the crowd outside thrills with the emotion of expectancy; through the aperture a few men squeeze themselves with dejected mien into the ice-bound street. They are the rejected ones. Then the whole crowd presses forward. The next batch, five at a time, forces itself in. Inside, they approach a table where a man takes notes and several around him "examine" the applicant. Those who are found to be Herculean enough and agile enough are then put to the third and last test—the test of docility. The test does not here consist in meekly submitting to a physical lashing. It consists in signing an "agreement" in which, "in consideration of employment", the men sign away their lives and their character. Though not physically drugged yet drugged by the mental poison of the capitalist press, the ones chosen feel happy that they have found a purchaser; the remaining and dismissed ones rush elsewhither in search of better luck in the search of a master.

Has the Eugene Sue picture only a remote, or has it a living interest for us? History is a mirror in which to see our own lineaments. The forms of slavery change, but the thing remains—and will remain to blight the earth until the wage slave upturns the Capitalist System.

A PILLAR OF "LAW," "ORDER," "THE FAMILY," ETC.

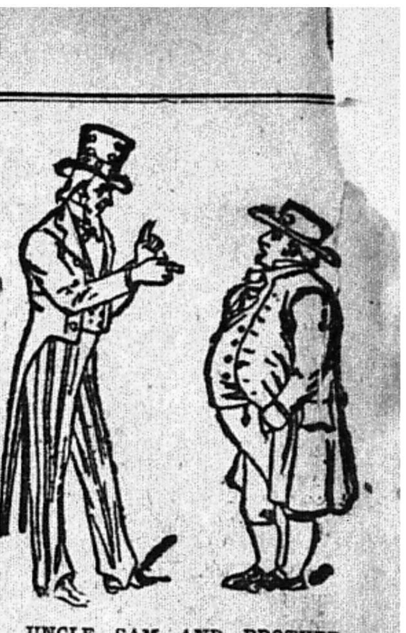
Mrs. Elisa Sutton McKee obtained on the 9th instant a decree of divorce from her husband, A. Hart McKee, a son of the Pittsburg multimillionaire glass manufacturer.

Mrs. McKee testified, and her testimony was corroborated, that her husband beat her; that he threatened "breaking of her neck"; that he heaped opprobrious invectives upon her; that he threw loaded pistols into her lap; that he left her unattended when sick in bed in a dangerous condition; and, to cap the climax of indignities, that he introduced a woman into the house and when she objected, told her if she did not like it she could get out.

We do not know Mr. A. Hart McKee; we do not even remember ever to have heard his name; we know nothing of the worthy except the above facts. Nevertheless, the same as geologists know that under certain rocks there must be water; the same as naturalists know that where there are certain plants there must also be certain bugs; the same as Columbus knew that, the earth being round, land had to lie to the west of the Atlantic;—just so does every observer of the times know that A. Hart McKee must be a member of a crack militia regiment, or that his boon companions are militiamen, whom he regularly joins in their carousals and in the songs they sing expressive of the hope speedily to have a chance to squelch some strike of defenceless workingmen; that A. Hart McKee is a front-pew-holder in some leading church, where Socialists are denounced as breakers-up and Capitalists praised as the upholders of the family; that A. Hart McKee's blood boils with patriotic indignation at the very sound of the word "Socialism"; that A. Hart McKee feels a righteous revolt at the "Anarchistic methods" of Socialism; that A. Hart McKee entertains unbounded contempt for the "uncultured workingman"; that A. Hart McKee is looked upon in his circle of acquaintances as a "pillar of Law and Order"; that A. Hart McKee passes with his male acquaintances for a "brave man" and is admired by these.

In short, we know Mr. A. Hart McKee perfectly. The gentleman is a type of the genus "Capitalist Class".

Cast your optics in the direction of the Tax Commissioner's office. Note how the number of millionaires in this city has suddenly decreased. Observe also how the few still found owning personal property here, are assessed for considerably less than the amount which is attributed to them at other times. The sight beheld in the vicinity of the Tax Department is a clinching argument, in behalf of the capitalist's "great civic virtues," microscopic "moral rectitude," etc., ad nauseum.



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—Don't you think the Socialist Labor Party is somewhat intolerant?

UNCLE SAM—No, why?

B. J.—I'll tell you. It calls the labor leaders fakirs because they won't join the S. L. P.

U. S.—Where did you get that from?

B. J.—That is what the labor leaders say.

U. S.—But their saying does not make it so.

B. J.—But does not the S. L. P. call them fakirs?

U. S.—Whom? These professionals of the pure and simple stripe?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—It does.

B. J.—Well, there you have it. They are called fakirs because they won't join the party.

U. S.—Not at all; that is not the reason. There is a mighty good reason to call them fakirs; their not joining the S. L. P. would be no reason.

B. J.—And what is the reason?

U. S.—There are workingmen who actually still honestly indulge the superstition that the union and the strike and boycott are enough for all practical purposes; many a sincere worker holds the view; the blows he has received are not yet hard enough, and you know how difficult it is to rid oneself of a superstition if it once has taken hold.

B. J.—Yes, indeed, I do.

U. S.—Such workers and their leaders are looked upon rather with pity than contempt by the New Trades Unionists or Socialists; these never call them fakirs, but visionaries and illusionists.

B. J.—Well, then, whom do the New Trades Unionists call fakirs?

U. S.—But there are a good many others who have long since dropped the pure and simple superstition; who know that the industrial struggle or strikes and boycots alone is not sufficient, and that the workmen must cast their ballots against both capitalism and capitalist candidates, but who, nevertheless, fight the S. L. P. with furious rage.

B. J.—Are these the ones the Socialists call fakirs?

U. S.—Yes, but not simply because they fight the S. L. P.

B. J.—For what other reason?

U. S.—People may entertain an honest conviction that, although a certain labor party has a correct platform, still it is constituted in a manner that they object to, and is led by people whom they sincerely mistrust.

B. J.—You should not call them fakirs for that.

U. S.—No, indeed! So long as they are honest in such convictions, they are no fakirs. But the test of their honesty is that they set up their own labor party, organized in such a way as they may choose, and led by such men as they may trust. That is the test. The workers who would do that are no fakirs; but those are fakirs, who, while calling themselves Socialists, and while objecting to the S. L. P., nevertheless deliberately abstain from setting up their own party. Such fellows are all-around fakirs; they prove that they are dishonest in their opposition to the S. L. P., that they do not mean well by labor; that they are on the make even if they have to play into the hands of the capitalists by trading on their class.

B. J.—Such people surely are fakirs!

U.S.—And such are the "labor leaders" whom the New Trades Unionists and Socialists hold up with a pitch-fork to the well merited execration of the working class.

Starrett's campaign against the "Chinese wall" combination alleged to exist between the building trade employers and trades unions, is not a disinterested one. It is plain that the combination prevents the "department store" construction companies, represented by Starrett, from underbidding the specialized contractors, and hampers them in the execution of contracts when they are successful bidders. Starrett's success in this campaign would mean the triumph of the "department store" builders. Despite this, however, Starrett's disclosures are interesting as they show how the trades union tends more and more to become a caricature and bulwark of capitalism.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE DEVIL'S OWN PROSPERITY, IN THE "GOLDEN" WEST.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Now for a little news on the Labor Question: The exta gang men on the Spokane division of the N. P. have been presented with a New Year's gift—a reduction in wages from $1.60 to $1.40 per day; and several machinists have been laid off (fired). President Elliott of this road (N. P.) came out this way about a year ago reducing the section men to a dollar two bits a day; then went East and spoke in glowing terms about prosperity on the Pacific Coast—the devil's own prosperity for the workers. This is in the "Golden" West!

J. M.

Baring, Wash., Jan. 8.

BRIMBLE ON SIMONS.

To the Daily and Weekly People—I have just arisen from a perusal of Mr. A. M. Simon's analysis of the Socialist vote in the United States, and it struck me that the evidence contained therein could be made the basis of a note setting forth the relative claims of the S. L. P. and the "S. P." to the attention of the honest and well-meaning working people of America.

You know that evidence was sent in to S. L. P. headquarters months before election, setting forth the fact that W. F. of M. had gone back on its Socialist protestations, and that this evidence was embodied in a resolution of the National Convention of the S. L. P. touching upon the troubles in this State. The outspoken policy of the S. L. P. is in striking contrast to the deliberately misleading policy of the "S. P.," alias S. D. P.

You have doubtlessly more evidence at hand along this line than have I, as my acquaintance with "S. P." publications is limited, but I know enough to convict some of the leaders of that party of a deliberate fraud upon the rank and file of their followers in particular, and the workers of the country in general.

First, Com. Chas. H. Chase sent me a copy of "The Worker" which contains an interview with President Moyer, of the W. F. of M., in refutation of the assertion that the heads of the W. F. of M. are supporting the Democratic ticket. Moyer is quoted as saying that he will support the Chicago Convention, that is to say, Debs and Hanford, which assertion is made to appear as if he and his followers were going down the line for the entire "S. P." ticket.

Now, it is notoriously the fact that the heads of the W. F. of M. worked hard for the election of the corrupt Democratic machine politician, Speer, in the May election in Denver, and at the very time that the interview spoken of appeared in "The Worker," it was apparent to anyone who cared to see that Messrs. Moyer, Haywood & Co. were straining every resource at their command to effect the election of Adams, the Democratic candidate for Governor. The greater part of their work was done in connection with the "Liberty League," an organization brought into existence to "down Peabody" and to further the ambitions of sundry freaks possessed of an itch for notoriety.

The facts in connection with the alliance of the W. F. of M. and the Democratic party are as notorious and unquestioned that one is driven to the conclusion that the parties responsible for the reports sent to the "S. P." press regarding the situation in Colorado were candidates for a "Home for the Feebleminded," or were deliberately misstating things to the end of getting a big vote elsewhere. I incline to the latter belief.

"The International Socialist Review" is, I take it, a fairly representative "S. P." publication. The October issue of that magazine contained estimates of the "Socialist" vote in the various States, and under the heading of "Colorado" we are told that this State would poll 20,000 votes for Debs and Hanford. The defection of the State Federation of Labor is noted, but nothing is said of the far more significant defection of the W. F. of M., and the fact that labor fakirs of the Max Morris-Harvey Garman stripe were making their usual deals with the Democratic machine. The impression conveyed by the correspondent is that the "S. P." organization was in excellent shape and would carry the vote to unprecedented heights, and it is especially noted that the "Miners' Magazine," organ of the W. F. of M., was doing great work "for Socialism." This at a time when the shifty policy of that journal was fast becoming a stench in the nostrils of honest men and when its editor, John O'Neill, would have sacrificed a limb to insure the election of Adams.

Mr. Simons was not so optimistic as his correspondent, he placing the vote at 15,000, making no note of the defection of those who had given his party its high vote of two years ago. His silence cannot be put down to ignorance, as I shall show.

In the December number of his magazine, Mr. Simons roasts the labor leaders in Colorado for the desertion of the "S. P.," at the same time giving evidence of the fact that he had been informed—will he say from what source?—of the actual conditions obtaining out here prior to election, but, for reasons that are apparent, had elected to keep silence over the matter, in common with other leaders of the "S. P."

His anger at the W. F. of M. does not lead him to give all the facts in connection with the unsavory case of the "S. P." Possibly he has not been correctly informed. If so, I would say that the vote for Floaten, "S. P." candidate for Governor, was little over one-half of the vote cast for Debs, and less than one-third of the vote for the "S. P.'s" candidate for Governor of two years ago. Mr. Simons carried out his misleading policy by comparing the vote for Debs in 1900 with that of this year, which, of course, shows an increase.

He is sore at Massachusetts, too, but I leave that part of the story to our Eastern comrades. And that brings me to the main point of this letter, which is, that, bad and deplorable as the conduct of the leaders of the W. F. of M. and other organizations has been, it is eclipsed by that of the leaders of the "S. P.," who, as I have said, kept silent upon the shipwreck of their party here for the sake of rolling up a big vote elsewhere, while exploiting other phases of the struggle in Colorado to the limit. Simons and the rest of them have no complaint to make against the W. F. of M. Rather should they hang their heads in shame, as their silence during the campaign was an important, if not indispensible, factor in the plot to deliver the workers into the hands of the Democracy.

The kotowing to labor fakirs and other well-known features of the "S. P." have again borne their accustomed fruit, and the fate of the "big vote," of which so much is being said, is foreshadowed by the experience of the "S. P." in Colorado and Massachusetts. It is only a question of time, and it is for the honest members of that party to bring to an end the campaign of deception and fraud that is being practiced upon them before such an experience as we have gone through this fall becomes fraught with too much peril to the Socialist movement.

Mr. Simons, notwithstanding the queer kinks in his moral nature, has intelligence enough to realize the importance of the matter under discussion, even if he be not possessed of sufficient manhood to face the situation as it should and must be faced, as it is faced by the S. L. P. This is shown by the space which he devotes to the question. "But," some may say, "the S. P. is big enough to overshadow such little happenings as those of Colorado and Massachusetts." Possibly, and so is an ocean liner big enough to make a hole in its bows contemptible to those who do not appreciate the importance of that hole when the ship runs into the storm that waits for it on the high seas.

H. J. Brimble.

Florence, Col., Jan. 1, 1905.

WHAT CAN BE DONE WITH "THE PILGRIM'S SHELL."

New York Labor News Co., New YORK, N. Y.—Please send me at once 10 copies of "The Pilgrim's Shell," by Eugene Sue. You might enclose a few more of the advertising circulars. I have interested a book dealer who is pushing our literature.

To show you what can be done I want to say that only yesterday I personally sent out only five of those circulars to five people, whom I thought would be interested, and I inserted the book dealer's name in vacant space at the bottom. I was in to see him to-day and was much surprised to learn that two of the five had been in to purchase a copy. As I have no more on hand, please send the 10 at once.

Frank Janke.

Indianapolis, Ind., Jan. 5.

BERGER ON GOMPERS.

To the Daily and Weekly People: The Social Democratic Herald of Jan. 7, contains an article from the pen of its associate editor, Victor L. Berger. This article is one of a series written on the late convention of the A. F. of L. to which Berger was a delegate. If ever an article was written that shows what a "logical reasoner", "able writer" and "honest fellow" Berger is, this is it. The article referred to contains conflicting statements, so grotesque in nature that Berger really doesn't seem to know what he is talking about. He seems to be in a bad fix But let him talk for himself. Hear him:

"And in years past he (Gompers) has done some good strokes for the benefit of the labor movement."

Quite a compliment, is it not. And then Berger says:

"Gompers has been a harmonizer for the last twenty years, but has not even succeeded in getting a paltry eight-hour bill passed."

Of what then do "the good strokes" that Gompers has done "for the benefit of the labor movement" consist?

But Gompers has excellent qualities thinks Berger.

"Sam Gompers is an excellent chairman; whatever may be said against him, this must be conceded."

What kind of a chairman Gompers is, is fully explained in the following, by Berger:

"But on the other hand he openly uses his power as chairman of the convention and president of the Federation to defeat anything savoring of Socialism."

Berger continues:

"Gompers completely rules the convention of the A. F. of L. His will is law and any proposition which does not meet the approval of his 'administration', that is, of the 'old man' has little chance of being adopted."

Now the "excellent chairman" becomes violent:

"In fighting the Socialists he frequently loses his self control and usual equipose of temper and he becomes violent in expression and malicious in action."

Thus the "excellent chairman"!

A movement that places men like Berger at its head must be in a very backward condition. Such is the case with the Social Democracy. Those who see the fake reasoning of Berger, the amusing conflicting statements he makes, and especially of late, his cowardly conduct, etc., etc.,— those, we repeat, who see all this and openly show their disatisfaction against Berger are thrown out of the local Social Democratic organization. This shows plainly the mental stratum of the Social Democracy. He who cannot see the glaring contradictions of Berger and his disgusting condescension toward Gompers, the arch priest of labor fakirism and traitor to the cause of labor—are mentally unfit to grasp the philosophy of Socialism. A movement that tolerates such elements within its ranks must go down sooner or later.

Milwaukee, Wis. Jan. 8. H. B.

ONE OF MANY VOICES FROM THE FIELD.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Enclosed you will find fifty cents for renewal of subscription for the Weekly People. I am a member of the "Socialist" party at present, having joined Local Los Angeles last spring, while rambling around the country looking for steady and remunerative employment. But alas! I have discovered that there is a surplus of human beings everywhere—I mean for the few jobs.

I do not want to bore you with a long letter but I think I have a few remarks to make that will be of interest to The People. First, this city of five thousand inhabitants is undergoing a boom, that is, there are some buildings going up and more than a few Easterners, like myself, are flocking here to engage in the poultry raising industry. When their small savings are all gone and they can not make both ends meet, out go their sons and daughters to the labor market. The number of jobs does not increase with the number of applicants. You know the rest. The result is only those who are affiliated with some of the fraternal organizations, etc., can get steady employment. Those who do not or will not belong to such organizations can run a grocery or feed bill and offer to work until squared up. Somebody else can then have their job until that somebody else is squared up. This is not a dream of mine. It is a fact which has come under my observation.

I joined the Socialist movement with the intention of doing all in my power to observe and find out as many flaws as possible in the capitalistic system under which we live. I like your press and think there is more genuine uncompromising Socialism in it than all the rest of the Socialist press: that kind that has flaring ads about things un-Socialistic.

I am a wage worker and not very much enlightened on the proper tactics of the S. L. P., but I have enough of the S. P. Send an organizer here and send him quick before the fakir gets here with his demoralizing influences. There is plenty of virgin timber here to work upon. If I have the good luck to be here when he comes I will be only too glad to do my best to help make a section of the Socialist Labor Party here in Petaluma, as my home is here. Later on when I can stand the pressure, I will send for some extra copies of The People and help spread the true doctrine of true Socialism.

Yours for uncompromising, revolutionary Socialism,

Walter A. Simons,

E. Petaluma, Cal., Jan. 3.

KLENKE ON "THE DIFFERENCE".

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Please find enclosed copy of "Central Labor Journal" dated Jan. 6. The statement is made in the above paper that "Aug. Klenke has gone to Buffalo for the purpose of enlarging the organization of the S. D. P. in that city."

With the final death of "The Erie People", Klenke found himself "out of a job", as he was the business manager of that "Socialist" paper, which was practically the property of The Erie Brewing Co., said company furnished the money to bring it back from the grave.

It will be remembered that some time since the C. L. U. brought action against Klenke for embezzling certain funds, which belonged to the "union". Klenke was bound over to wait the action of the grand jury, and before the case was called Klenke payed the claims of the union and the costs of the court.

Of coure, Klenke was a member of the S. D. P., or S. P., as it is called here in Erie, and during the time of his questionable actions retained his good standing.

Therefore it is quite logical that such a "comrade", with so valiant and sweet a record in "nobly waging the class struggle" should, according to the Buffalo "Enquirer" of last December 30, be now saying: "There is a vast difference between the S. D. P. and the Socialist Labor Party. The latter are extremists. We are the very opposite".

The comrades of the S. L. P., and all honest workers whom Klenke may come in touch with in Buffalo, will do well to keep an eye upon this "advance agent of Socialism".

The enclosed clipping is from the Erie "Central Union Journal" of the 6th instant.

Press Committee,
Section Erie, S. L. P.

Erie, Pa., Jan. 9.

(Enclosure.)

(From Erie, Pa., "Central Labor Union Journal", Jan. 6, 1905.)

GONE TO NEW FIELDS.

The news that Buffalo has a new champion in labor's name is given in another column. Erie's once self-imposed leader who blossomed and grew exceedingly fat for over two years in our midst, has taken up his bed and gone to pastures new. Let his memory be kept green, and may his like be not settled in the Gem City again. The Journal has no quarrel with him as a politician, for politicians are presumably all alike no matter what special party they represent, but as a labor leader, one who has the power to plan and do for those who believe in labor's cause, he has proven a failure to the cost of the movement in Erie. Accepted by many at first as a new Moses, followed blindly by a few to the last, his stay in Erie has proven a setback that will take years to recover from.

Mr. Klenke, while showing ability in a certain sense as an organizer during his early residence in the Gem City of the Lakes, yet from results that have necessarily been made public during the past year, it is felt that his sojourn here has been more of a curse than a benefit. Erie workmen gladly resign him to Buffalo and heave a sigh of relief at his departure from their midst, and, while wishing him no particular ill will, yet it is safe to say a majority of those who knew him here are of the opinion that an honest job at honest toil for this would-be statesman would be of a direct benefit to the labor organizations of which he posed as a champion.

Rest secure in your new field of self imposed labor, Mr. Klenke, but here's hoping Buffalo Labor Unions are not the easy mark that Erie unions have proven to be in the past, be dilligent and see that all money is put into your hands, and accept a word of advice from the Journal, see that you are the whole thing and for a season you may roll in wealth, but that season will stop after a while and your snap will be gone.

IMPORTANT FOR BUFFALO.

The Buffalo Labor Lyceum holds public lectures and discussions every Sunday afternoon at three o'clock in Florence Parlors, 527 Main street, near Genesee. General debates between Socialists and non-Socialists follow each lecture. You neglect a valuable opportunity for education if you do not attend these meetings. Men as well as women are invited. Admission is free.

January 22—Attorney G. W. Gillette, on "The Tenement House Problem."

January 29—Boris Reinstein, on "The Social Arrangement of a Bee-Hive."

February 5—Attorney Arthur W. Hickman, on "Ideals."

February 12—Rev. L. M. Powers, on "What Is Equality and Is It Desirable?"

Don't forget the other educational department of Section Erie County, S. L. P.—the School of Socialism. Meets every Wednesday, 8 p. m. sharp, at S. L. P. headquarters, old Y. M. C. A. building, 19 West Mohawk street, corner Pearl street, room 510, top floor. Sound Socialist literature is jointly studied and discussed there. All men and women are welcome. If you can not join, attend a few meetings on trial.

If you receive a sample copy of this paper it is an invitation to subscribe.

LETTER-BOX

A. P., BROOKLYN, N. Y.—Must the choice be between the two? Well, if we have to choose between the "New Yorker Worker" and the "Appeal to Reason," then give us the "Appeal." The "Appeal," with all its harmful influence, at least stirs the benumbed; the "New Yorker Worker" is clammy like a dead man's hand; it can neither inspire, nor does it instruct; moreover, its support of A. F. of L. fakirism, for the sake of funds, renders it, in a different way, as poisonous and corrupt as the "Appeal." It is a choice between rotten apples.

S. E. L., NEW ORLEANS, LA.—The term "craft organizations," that is now springing up, comes pretty near to the term "guild." The guild was a medieval institution. It was the cradle of the bourgeois. The guild consisted of a craft; they were adversaries, and competitors, and excluders of similar craftsmen's doing that particular business. They frequently confederated. Some of Rembrandt's great pictures are guild confederacies; but these confederacies were held no closer together than the present Gompers or craft Unions, which in many ways scab it upon one another. The statement is correct: "the modern Gompers style of Unionism is a carricature of the old bourgeois guild."

D. L., TOPEKA, KANS.—A property-holding class always is class-conscious. Whatever lures are thrown in its way, it never is wholly thrown off its center of gravity. Like the weighted Chinese doll, it always speedily and of itself rights up again. The property it holds acts as the righting weight. Hence the peculiar difficulty and danger in the case of the Working Class—a propertiless class. Hence, in its case the necessity of utmost strictness, aye, "narrowness" and "intolerance." Read on the matter the second of the "Two Pages from Roman History," issued by the Labor News, 2-6 New Reade street, this city.

T. Y., CLEVELAND, O.—Clap your hands to your pockets in such company. The man who says: "We must live in order to carry out Socialism," and who uses such a truism to justify his obsequiousness to the labor-betraying Gompers' system of Unionism, is a double-faced scamp. He, no doubt, may want Socialism. Who would like to live in a pig-sty, and what is capitalism but a pig-sty for the masses? What he means is that he is too much of a spineless poliwog to combat evil, if to do so entails effort and sacrifice; that he is willing to suck up the fruits of others' efforts, while in the meantime he "lives" through means that divide the working class and thereby delay their emancipation.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.—A request comes for the record of Ed. Boyce, or at least for sources of information regarding him. Please send same.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.—A request comes for accurate and detailed information regarding the hours of work of Post Office employees. Will some friend in the service answer.

J. J. K., CHICAGO, ILL.—What does the passage in the S. L. P. platform—"The S. L. P. reasserts the inalienable right of man to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness"—mean? It means just what it says, and it says just what it means, in clear enough English.

F. C. W., COLUMBUS, O.—The S. L. P. had no ticket in Maryland, Wyoming, Vermont or Utah, and we have no information of any S. L. P. vote being cast in any of those States. The 208 votes for Patrick O'Rourke in Montana were for the S. L. P. Norman, Armer, Anthony, Schade, Tuttle, Mercadier, Hurley, Anderson and Haller were S. L. P. electors in California. The S. L. P. vote is given in full in this People's issue.

I. S. E., SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—There is nothing easier to understand than Socialist economics. Plain geometry is not in it with Socialist economics. His must be a weak mind who cannot grasp Socialist economics. A different thing, however, is the application thereof to turn it into a practical and healthy Movement. That implies tactics, and tactics imply a correct knowledge of the currents in the waters that are to be navigated. Hence, he who says "there is no difference between the S. L. P. and the S. P. except in tactics" gives up his premises of "no essential difference." Different tactics lead to quite different results. For instance, the tactics for "immediate demands" will lead inevitably to political jobs for a few and into the quagmire of "reform"; the tactics of "anti or lower taxation" will lead unavoidably to a bourgeois angle of vision; the tactics of kotowing to labor fakirs and to labor-fakirism will lead fatedly to being run by the labor-lieutenants of the capitalist class—that way lies not the Socialist Republic.

F. S., ST. LOUIS, MO.—We know. It is difficult. But it must be done. Plenty of good nature is demanded in arguing with such people. So long as an opponent is thought to be honest, he is worth while laboring upon. But drop vain, or vain-glorious men. They are rotten at the core.

C. T. E., PITTSBURGH, PA.—Fail not to read history. Social conditions are historic incidents. Socialism, its economics, above all its tactics, cannot be properly grasped without a knowledge of preceding events. Books on history are said to be dry. The Sue stories that the Party is publishing, teach the history of the race for more than 2,000 years back, down to our own days, in the pleasantest way possible. There are now three of the stories in book form. Get them, read them. Get others to buy and read them. They will make Socialist propaganda easier, and, the cash they bring in can be invested in publishing the rest. A fourth story is in type waiting for money to publish it. Three more stories are ready, translated. The whole series will be accessible to the workers, provided only the stories, so far out, are sold extensively.

Y. Y., DENVER, COLO.—There is no difference. The pure and simple Union proposes to fight "capital with capital." "Fight capital with capital" is the central idea of co-operative plans and colonies. The fallacy is huge in both cases, and may become disastrous.

A. F. B., ST. LOUIS, MO.—Hickey would have been fired by the S. L. P. long before he was, if only the comrades along his Western tour in 1899 had notified the N. E. C. of how he was queering the Party. They left headquarters in ignorance. This had the further disadvantage of swelling his head.

C. H. H., AUBURN, N. Y.—There is no contradiction in a revolutionary party's first resorting to the ballot. The English in 1648, the American in 1776, the French a few years later—all these revolutionary movements fought out their first battle on the hustings. Get the issue of The People that has the "Flash-Light on the Amsterdam Congress" entitled "The General Strike." The matter is there taken up in full. The course to be followed, on such matters as you raise, is not to be determined by sentiment or notion. It is a historic sequence.

C. H., NEW YORK.—The only Trades Union body endorsed by the S. L. P. constitution of 1904 is the S. T. & L. A. Consequently, under the provision of the constitution, an officer of the A. L. U. is not admissible for membership in the S. L. P., and an S. L. P. member cannot accept office in the A. L. U.

J. H. E., COLUMBUS, O.—Fewer words would make your point clear. It is not so now. Are you still circulating the "Appeal to Reason"? Do you think it is the proper tactics for a paper, that claims to wish to promote Socialism, to publish spread-eagle advertisements of co-operative catch-penny schemes that declare "Socialism is only a theory and will remain a theory until practically illustrated"—these exploded co-operative schemes being the "practical" illustration? Do you think Socialism can be promoted by such chicanery and duplicity as the "Appeal" pursues when it seeks to promote "practical" illustrations of Socialism by co-operative schemes, at the same time that it seeks to justify its own private ownership by telling its correspondents that "Socialism is impracticable under competition"? These questions are plain and readily answerable. Give the answer. We shall then know where you stand.

T. J., NEW YORK.—The Trades Union resolution adopted at the last national convention of the S. P. was a slap in the face to the A. L. U. and an endorsement of the A. F. of L.

R. C. G., SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—1st. As to the matter of "inalienable rights," "natural rights," etc., don't be so cock-sure. That's all we care to say on this head for the present. We shall wait until we know whether Mrs. Olive M. Johnson has cared to accept the challenge which you say was issued to her on the subject, and, if she has, until the debate is over. Your letter will be kept on the Letter Box file to be taken up.

2d. The handicraftsman is the operative who works with tools, but not machinery. Hunt up the passage in "Capital" that defines the "machine" as against the "tool," proper. It is an important passage. We are all careless in the use of the word "tool." The subject, above all, the times, demand accuracy of terminology. The brickmason who lays bricks with his trowel and ruler is an instance of the handicraftsman.

3d. The subsidiary point on the proletarian aspect of this matter, next week.

J. H. A., LOUISVILLE, KY.—Non-membership in the Party alone would not exclude admission to the "Bulgaria-Italy" debate; nor would admission to the debate be excluded alone on the ground of a Kangaroo style of arguing. But, non-membership, combined with a Kangaroo style of arguing, as in your instance, bars admission. It is essentially a Kangaroo style of arguing to make loose charges, carefully abstain from any semblance of proof, and under the dust of generalities insinuate what is false. For instance, when the documentary facts are nailed on the head of Max Hayes of Cleveland proving him to be a beneficiary and condoner of a system of trades unionism that keeps and must keep the working class hopelessly rent in twain, forthwith she opens wide her mouth and shouts "The People calls everybody a fakir"—as though her corrupt self were everybody! Or when the documentary facts are nailed on the head of the "Volkszeitung" Corporation that it sells out the workingmen for advertisements in its papers, forthwith it splits its voice with the announcement that "The S. L. P. hates the Germans and the Jews"—as though its dastard little clique were all there is of the German and Jewish races! And so forth. That is the Kangaroo style. Your contribution to the discussion is ruled out.

T. R. I., TROY, N. Y.—Wheels within wheels! All the people who are drawing dividends on United States Steel preferred stock at the rate of over 7 per cent., are strongly in favor of all the protective laws that enable the Trust to pay such dividends, and they have no objection to the Trust's charging $34 in America for what it sells at $28 in Belfast. The overcharge helps to swell dividends.

D. F. O., WORCESTER , MASS.—The "Index Expurgatorius" is a Papal list of books and publications that the faithful are forbidden to read. The leading works of art, science and literature are on the list. The list was established or started by Alexander VII., in the early part of the sixteenth century. It has been continued down to the present.

M. E. M., LEWISTON, IDAHO.—The hint will be taken.

"A SINCERE READER," ROCKVILLE, CONN.—If by "the vote of each candidate" you mean Corregan and Debs, the same will be found in this issue in detail. If you mean other candidates, let's know.

W. G., NEW YORK.—Well! Well!! Well!!! So you, poor "Volkszeitung's" party "immediate demander" and candleholder for Gompersism, see in the "Volcanic Rumblings" an evidence of The People's "throwing goo-goo eyes" at your party? If you were a girl you would not be so easy to please. You would not take punches on the nose for "goo-goo eyes." But perhaps that's the way courting is done in Timbooctoo.

H. F., CINCINNATI, O.—1st. Franz Mehring was first a strong opposer of the German Social Democracy. He attacked it with strong articles. About ten years ago he became converted to Socialism. Since then his able pen has done good work for the Social Democracy. As to Rudolf Meyer, we know nothing of his antecedents.

2d. "Matter received," at the close of Letter Box, is notice to the contributors addressed, and whose matter has not been used in some way or other in the Daily, that their matter has been received. They might otherwise fear it has gone astray. Occasionally correspondents are also included. The acknowledgment that matter has been received does not imply that it will or will not be used. It simply was received.

3d. What on earth is "geographical materialism"? Never heard of it.

Other and more important questions later.

X. X., NEW YORK.—The case was this: A strike being on in Chicago Harry White, alias Korkowinski, and great pet of Gompers and the Civic Federation, hired several men here in New York to go to Chicago and break the strike. They were promised certain amounts of moneys and wages for their dirty work. They agreed, went to Chicago, but failed to get the promised moneys. Thereupon they sued Mr. Korkowinski in the New York court. He could not rebut the plaintiffs' testimony infact, admitted it as correct, but pleaded that he was not personally liable, that his organization was. But judgment was ordered against him, anyhow.

D. McD., HELENA, MONT.—The S. L. P. could not, if it would, and it certainly would not, if it could, resort to the subterraneous methods of the S. D. P. to fight that party. For very good reasons. First, the S. L. P. is too busy educating to spend time in backbiting; secondly the S. L. P. knows that nothing solid can be built on such foundations. It must sooner or later tumble over the ears of such builders.

(Continued on page 6.)

OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New Reade street, New York.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA—National Secretary, P. O. Box 350, London, Ont.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY, 2-6 New Reade street, New York City (The Party's literary agency.)

Notice—For technical reasons no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

THE TOUR OF COMRADE FRANK A. BOHN.

On November 20 began the transcontinental tour of Comrade Frank A. Bohn. The comrade put in one week's ceeded to Indiana, Illinois and Missouri, from which he will go to Kansas, Colorado, Utah, Arizona, California, Oregon, Washington, and then return East. When first conceived, the tour was undertaken largely as a means to get Comrade Bohn to California, the S. L. P. State Executive Committee of that State having engaged the comrade for a three months' agitation and organization tour there. But that aspect of the matter vanished completely when the result of the late election became known. A situation utterly different from what we have had before, confronts us today. The "safe and sane" Democracy has been smashed at the polls. Ne plus ultra capitalism has been placed in the saddle in a manner that must cause secret fear in the hearts of its more far-seeing representatives, it being more than they probably bargained for. As a result, the lines of the class struggle will soon become more plainly visible in our political life than ever before. During such times men will learn more in a month than they would otherwise learn in a year. Their minds will be open. Therefore, now is the time for the Socialist Labor Party to do its utmost to agitate, educate and organize. The tour of Comrade Bohn appeared desirable when first mentioned. Looked at in the light of the present situation, it has become imperative.

To make possible the uninterrupted success of this tour, the National Executive Committee, who have assumed full responsibility for the work, financially and otherwise, must be supported. We therefore call upon all members and friends of the Socialist Labor Party to contribute to a fund to sustain the work now undertaken, said fund to be known as the "General Agitation Fund" under which head all contributions will be publicly acknowledged. Let those who can give send their contribution, but wherever possible instead of making one contribution and then be done with, let those who ardently desire to further this work pledge a small weekly contribution in an amount in keeping with their means and thus insure a steady income. Should the response to this call warrant it, other organizers will be put on the road as fast as means permit.

Public acknowledgements of the amounts received will be made once a week in the Sunday People and will then appear in the subsequent issue of the Weekly People.

Trusting that this will meet with the response the situation demands, we are,

Fraternally yours,
The National Executive Committe, Socialist Labor Party, Henry Kuhn, Secretary.

UP AND AT IT!

Inspiring Address on the Encouraging S. L. P. Outlook in Pennsylvania.

To the Socialist Labor Party of Pennsylvania:

Comrades:—The effect of the elections of November 8 last was unique in some respects. Ultracapitalism, triumphant to an extent far beyond its own expectations, began trembling in its boots, justly perceiving forebodings of future disaster to itself in its very triumph. On the other hand, the Socialist Labor Party almost buried under an avalanche of a Debs' vote, quickly perceived the dawn of a better future to itself in the changed aspect of the political lay of the land and immediately set to work preparing for the next assault. For the first time in its history did the S. L. P. present as calm and as serene a posture at the very moment it was put to the severest test imaginable for a political party, now, more so than ever before, can the S. L. P. be proclaimed unshakable, immortal.

During last summer the S. L. P. of the nation and of our State, have given plenty evidence that for it there is no such a thing as apathy at a time when there is a chance to educate and organize the working class. In Pennsylvania, as elsewhere, did the S. L. P. remain true to its mission to work for the uplifting of our class to the full extent of its resources. With a total membership of about fifty, we have resolutely set to the task of getting 3,500 signatures on our petition lists—and we got them. With the generous assistance of the N. E. C., we had a speaker touring the State for a month; we had our presidential candidats speaking in Erie, Pittsburg and Philadelphia; a new section has been organized in Scranton; Section Allegheny county has branched out into two sections and at the close of the campaign we had a cash balance on hand of over thirty dollars. And when we consider that the vote of the S. L. P. in the State, as officially recorded, is only slightly less than four years ago, notwithstanding the fact that conditions were particularly favorable this time to wholesale counting out of our vote by the petty election officers and giving it to the credit of Debs, notwithstanding again that we were entirely off the ballot last year (not through any fault of ours), and keeping in mind that only two short years ago we were completely "annihilated" and "buried forever," by the Kanglet uprising—considering all this, we have good cause to congratulate ourselves on the fact that the S. L. P. is as unshakable and as firmly established in Pennsylvania as it is in the nation.

In contrast thereto, the so-called Socialist Party cut a sorry figure during last campaign. Only two years ago its membership amounted to a few thousands in this State—at present it barely numbers as many hundreds. Its local organizations conducted practically no campaign at all; its official organ at the seat of its committee in Erie suspended in the very midst of the campaign; its German daily paper in Philadelphia was whirling away the time bemoaning the unfortunate circumstance of the alleged extraordinary apathy of the campaign and despairingly urging that at least the Deutsche Genossen stand by the ship and furnish an audience for its vice-presidential candidnte. There seemed to be no incentive for those "revolutionists" to work, since neither Mitchell nor the Republican machine were in need of their agitation. And the Kanglets, those enlightened Twentieth Century Socialists of two years ago, where were they? They were altogether out of sight. Two years ago only a baker's dozen of loyal S. L. P. men were left in the State out of an organization of a few hundred members, but it took only two short years to prove once more that a bona-fide revolutionary movement need not count its members, and a monkey shine, a bogus affair may not rely on its members for strength and longevity.

The political lay of the land, as revealed by the election returns, is such, that it is evident that the opportunities for rapid and tangible success of our agitational work are immense and the days are numbered when the S. L. P. man will have to merely "hold his own" and "stand it alone," provided we can so shape our energies as to make the best use possible of these opportunities. With our extremely small numbers and still smaller financial resources, it is of utmost importance to adhere to a system in conducting our work. We cannot afford to waste, to throw bread on the waters and let those who are in need of it fish for it. We must increase our membership, we must extend the sphere of our influence with our class, we must strengthen that influence in fields we already hold and at all times must we do our utmost to strengthen and improve the national institutions of our Party—and all of it practically resolves itself into working for the circulation of our Party Press.

Comrades, we cannot hope to get safe and reliable and desirable material into our organization but from the ranks of the readers of our Party literature. And there is only one way to extend the sphere of our influence permanently—and that's again the permanent extension of the circulation of our Party Press. And there is one way of strengthening our influence in fields we already hold—and that is for the organization to keep in constant touch with the readers of our Party literature. Let us, then, comrades, so shape our activities as to give them entirely to that line of work. Let it be the fixed purpose of every Party organization and every member to either get readers of our literature or get names and addresses of those likely to lend us their ear and give us their attention. Whether we are speaking on the street corners or doing anything else for the Party the fixed and ultimate purpose in view should be the getting of names and addresses of those who are either favorably impressed by us or at least are not hostile to us. A street meeting held without an effort having been made to convince those favorably impressed of the necessity of giving their names and addresses so that the Party could keep in touch with them and supply them with literature and more arguments, such a meeting is largely a waste of energy even if it is successful enough to make voters, since the Party organization as such is not strengthened by a vote if the voter behind that vote is not known.

Keep tab on the propositions continually appearing in The People as to best means of spreading the Party Press; keep a full line of Party literature on hand not only for sale, but for temporary use by those unable to buy; keep a file of The People for reference purposes for the comrades and speakers; keep tab on all the local papers and preserve clippings exposing them as enemies of the working class—they will serve as admirable antidotes against the poison our class is absorbing daily through the capitalist press—in short, do your utmost to make your organization a source of light, knowledge and inspiration for our class.

The State Executive Committee will take up work along lines similar to correspondence bureau of the N. Y. S. E. C.; it is also prepared to handle and attend promptly to the three months' trial subs of the Weekly People, that it is hoped you will soon start sending in.

From Scranton comes a suggestion that the membership in the State start collecting funds to enable us to send an organizer through the State as soon as weather permits the holding of open air meetings; no action is taken on this matter by the S. E. C. and it is referred directly to the membership.

It is hoped that this circular will be read carefully and every one and all of the suggestions found in it acted upon; it would be best for the Section to elect committees, they to sumbit specific recommendations for work along lines suggested above.

It is essential that the S. E. C. receive from the sections and members at large periodical reports of their activity—this for the yurpose of keeping the comrades throughout the State informed of the work being done everywhere and thus stimulating activity where such is lax; such reports will, of course, be mentioned in detail in the published moments of the S. E. C.

And now, comrades—Up and at it!

For the State Executive Committee,
L. Katz, Secretary.

MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL COMMITTEE.

Meeting of January 8, in Section Boston's headquarters. Engelhardt in chair. Roll call showed Burnham, Schugel, Deans, Murphy, Englehardt, Mortensen and Sweeney present. Minutes of previous meeting adopted as read.

Voted that the credentials of J. C. Dunnack of Section Boston, and N. T. Fugelstad of Section Cambridge, be accepted and the delegates seated. Voted that the proposal of Section Boston to amend State Constitution, article 3, Section I., to read "The cost of due stamps shall be twelve cents per month," having been endorsed by the necessary three Sections, be sent to referendum vote, which is to close February 10.

Comrade Michael T. Berry, delegate to the new N. E. C., rendered his report of the two days' sessions. Balance of bill for expenses due, ordered paid.

The election of standing committees for the current year resulted as follows: Agitation, Engelhardt, Schugel, and Sweeney; auditors, Burnham, Fugelstad and Mortensen; grievance, Murphy, Deans and Mortensen.

Voted that the matter of Section Lowell be referred to the Agitation Committee: Comrade Carroll to go and speak there Sunday, January 22.

Committee of three elected to take inventory of materials belonging to General Committee, before being transferred from Lynn to Boston.

Moved that tabulated vote for N. E. C. delegate, State secretary, and treasurer, be sent to The People for insertion, as follows:

Sections—	Brennan N. E. C.	Greenman N. E. C.	Berry N. E. C.
Boston	9	4	2
Everett	3	1	1
Cambridge	4	0	0
Somerville	6	0	0
Woburn	5	0	0
Lynn	4	0	9
Lowell	0	0	2
Lawrence	3	1	0
Salem	5	0	0
Worcester	0	0	4
Springfield	0	0	1
Holyoke	0	1	6
Pittsfield	0	0	11
New Bedford	0	0	5
Jennings— Members-at-large	1	0	0
Dailey— Members-at-large	0	0	1
Totals	40	7	42

Sections—	Sweeney	Deans	Young
	Secretary-Treasurer		
Boston	10	2	11
Everett	6	0	5
Cambridge	3	0	4
Somerville	6	0	6
Woburn	5	0	5
Lynn	9	10	1
Totals	39	12	32

Adjournment followed.

John Sweeney, Secretary.
55 Temple Street, Boston.

SOCIALISM AND PATRIOTISM.

A lecture on the above subject will be delivered by James Connolly on Sunday, Jan. 22, at 3 p. m. at Turn Hall, 19th street near 5th avenue, Brooklyn. The comrades of the 7th and 12th A. D.'s are urged to do what they can to make this lecture a success. Bring friends and shopmates along.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES

Two hundred and nineteen subscriptions to the Weekly People were secured during the week ending Saturday, January 14. This is a slight increase over the average for the past few weeks and an increase no matter how small is always better than a decrease. But what S. L. P. man will say that we cannot double this figure if we all go to work and make up our minds to do it? Let our hustlers in every city who are now getting all of the subscriptions talk to and impress upon the minds of the majority of our members who never get a new reader, the necessity for them all to do a little. Many of them do not realize the importance of it. If it is explained to them how easy it is and how much good it will do, many of them can be induced to help along.

The 34th A. D., New York city sends in 37; Comrade Brown sends in eleven for Section Cleveland; Walter Goss of Belleville, Ill., who is always at it, sends in 8; R. O. Ottorn, Yale, B. C., a new worker, sends 7 yearlies; Comrades Widmayer of Brooklyn, 9; Ernst of St. Louis, 6; Wm. E. Kern, New Orleans, C. U. Starkenberg, Chicago, G. A. Jenning, East St. Louis, Ill., B. Reinstein, Buffalo, N. Y., and the 20th A. D., Brooklyn, 5 each.

Comrade Israelstam, of Johannesburg, South Africa remits ten dollars to pay for ten copies of the Weekly People for one year.

Comrade R. Goodwin of San Francisco, orders fifty copies a week and states that he will soon need more. Subscriptions are coming in with increasing regularity from that city.

Section Butte, Mont., took 250 copics of the issue of Jan. 14.

Order a bundle for distribution to help you in obtaining readers. The rates for small bundles are as follows:

5 copies 3 months	$0.65
5 copies 6 months	1.30
5 copies 1 year	2.50
10 copies 3 months	1.30
10 copies 6 months	2.50
10 copies 1 year	5.00
25 copies 3 months	3.25
25 copies 6 months	6.26

Larger bundles at cheaper rates.

On the three-months subscription fund, $8.05 was received; $7.20 was used up, leaving a balance on hand of $217.95.

LABOR NEWS NOTES.

San Francisco ordered nearly 600 assorted pamphlets, including 200 "Burning Question", 100 "Behind the Scenes", and others well chosen for propaganda purposes. The balance of the orders were such as: San Pedro, Cal., $3.75, Comrade Jorgensen, Benson, Neb., $2; South Chicago $3.75; Montrose, Colo., $3.35 and Henning, Minn., $3.40 worth of assorted literature. Dublin, Ireland, took 250 assorted pamphlets. Seattle, Wash., and Philadelphia, Pa., each a few.

Several individual orders for "Robert's Rules of Order" were received and filled; and Providence, R. I., ordered $2.45 worth of German books.

We have on hand in addition to our late leaflets the following:

6,000 "Cuba, the Philippines and China".

7,000 "How the Landlords Manage to Live in Idleness and Luxury".

14,000 "The Modern Tragedy; Downfall of the Small Producer".

11,000 "Plain Statement of Facts".

11,000 "Union Wreckers".

We also have 5,000 of the Hungarian leaflet entitled "MI A KULONBSEG?" The Hungarian comrades ought to be able to make good use of these. Price $1.50 per thousand, or 15 cents per hundred, plus express charges.

These English leaflets are all excellent for distribution. Beside that, we must get rid of some of our old stock to make room for the new. The Sections should realize the situation and order these leaflets out without delay.

A single thousand costs $1.25; ten thousand or more at the rate of $1 per thousand.

COLUMBUS, OHIO, ATTENTION.

Readers of The People and all those interested in the Socialist Labor Party are respectfully invited to attend a smoker at Fraternity Hall, 111 1-2 South High street (rear hall), on Monday evening, January 23. The object of this social gathering is to get in closer touch with The People readers and to call to action those who would like to see the number of readers increased. While the circulation of The People in this city is fairly good, the merits of the paper and the wage slave conditions demand that it be increased. It is therefore urgent that readers and their friends attend this meeting and help in the work.

Organizer.

Watch the label on your paper. That will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third the year.

LITHO. ARBITRATION.

(Continued from page 1.)

ernmentites, are counted upon to create conditions that will permit such a step in the future. No matter what may be the conventional indications, relations are very much strained in lithography. The litho. employes are undergoing a mental revolution that is sapping the vitality of capitalism. They are doing heaps of thinking and reading. Socialist Labor Party publications are circulating among them as they have never done before. THEY ARE BEGINNING TO REALIZE THAT THEY ARE FACE TO FACE WITH A CONFLICT OF INTERESTS IN WHICH THEY ARE THE DEFEATED, AND THEY ARE LOOKING FOR A WAY TO WIN. THE TRADE "AGREEMENT" IS ONE OF MANY ECONOMIC FACTORS THAT IS BRINGING HOME TO THEM THE TRUTH THAT THE INTERESTS OF CAPITAL AND LABOR ARE ANTAGONISTIC. IT IS AIDING TO DRIVE THEM INTO THE VERY THING THAT THE DELUDED BELIEVE THE TRADE "AGREEMENT" WILL DESTROY—SOCIALISM.

It is needless to say after the foregoing that the trade "agreement" works, in lithography, contrary to the claims made for it by the National Civic Federation. Were it possible to know the true status of affairs in the other instances cited by the National Civic Federation's department report, it is likely the same condition of affairs would also be revealed in them. Certain it is, that in the building and other trades, the trade "agreement" is held to be a weapon of coercion, whose use is opening the eyes and the minds of the employes to the conflicting interests of capital and labor. Thus the trade "agreement" is aiding in forcing the possible "disaster in the industrial world", i. e., their enforced abdication of the ownership of capital in favor of society, which the capitalists in control of the National Civic Federation so fondly hope to avert. Despite the National Civic Federation, the capitalist class is doomed—the advancement of its interests forces it to resort to measures that will cause its downfall. The class struggle cannot be lulled to sleep.

A Lithographer.

KANSAS GAS BELT.

(Continued from page 1.)

belt. The middle class is desperate. They see in the leasing of these gas and oil lands their chance of becoming rich vanishing. They tried to stop the building of the pipe line. An injunction was soon issued by a friendly corporation judge, and then they appealed to the legislature to pass a law preventing the piping of natural gas out of the State. Still the laying of the pipes continued. Then a party of men disguised, blew up the pipe line with dynamite. A re-action set in and troops were about to be ordered out to protect the property of the pipe line company, when the pressure was turned on and there the matter rests.

Any law that prevents the pipe line company from sending gas out of the State would promptly be declared unconstitutional. The handwriting is on the wall. Cherryvale and the towns in the Kansas gas belt will become sleepy agricultural towns once more. More of the middle class will be in the ranks of the working class, and the southeastern part of Kansas, together with southwestern Missouri will be the greatest proletarian point between the Mississippi River and the Rockies.

Now there are signs of an approaching split on the trade union question in the Socialist party. The workingmen of southwestern Missouri cannot be organized in a pure and simple union. They will listen to Socialism. They will support a Socialist speaker liberally, but they wont turn out to hear a pure and simple speech. These men must be reached by scientific literature as they will form the bulwarks of a genuine Socialist movement in the near future. Speed the day.

J. C. B.

SECTION PROVIDENCE.

Section Providence, R. I. has elected the following officers for the ensuing six months: Organizer, James McGuigan; Recording Secretary, Henry O'Neil; Financial Secretary, John W. Leach; Treasurer, Adolph Guldbrandson; Grievance Committee, Ernest S. Bowers, Francis P. Carney, Bernard J. Murray. Auditing Committee, Ernest S. Bowers, Francis M. Riley, Thomas F. Herrick; Propaganda Committee, Pasqual Cuccaro, John W. Leach, Henry O'Neil; Literary Agent, Francis P. Carney.

GREATER BOSTON, TAKE NOTICE.

At a special meeting of Local 77, S. T. and L. A. at headquarters, Jan. 8, the following officers were elected:

Organizer, Wm. H. Carroll; recording secretary E. H. Burnham; financial secretary, Karl Gromoos; treasurer, J. V. Schugel; sergeant at arms, Jos. Ahearn. Regular meetings, first Sunday of each month, at 7.30 p. m. A large attendance at meetings will be duly appreciated.

E. H. Burnham, Rec. Sec.

LETTER BOX.

S. B., PAWTUCKET, R. I.—Leave that clergy alone for a while. They are only advertising us.

F. F., NORTH ADAMS, MASS.—The Middle Ages extend from the close of the fifth to the end of the fifteenth century.

L. P., LYNN, MASS.—It is not true that "at present, people who do not conform to the opinions of the majority can go into 'unused' land, not otherwise claimed (or buy land) and practice their methods of life safely." The Mormons, for instance, can not. Do you notice how inexact your premises usually are?

C. Z., PEEKSKILL, N. Y.—The item had been noticed. The man is not the only one who illustrates the pleasing point; nor is he likely to be the last. But the old event at that Section meeting was somewhat different. The man in question had expressed himself traitorously about the Party. When the comrade rose to answer, he referred to the man as "that fellow." The fellow jumped up and demanded to be addressed as "comrade." The comrade refused to withdraw his words. While the fellow is now arrested for the violation of the child-labor law, all his cronies, who at the time were in constant petty intrigues against the party, are now candle-holders for the A. F. of F. labor betrayers in the "Volkszeitung" party. Father Time is a great adjuster.

J. C. M., FALKIRK, SCOT.—The book arrived O. K. The parrallel is racy.

TO THE BULGARIA-ITALY DEBATERS.—Already it has been necessary to issue a supplement to the Weekly, lest the letters on the subject stack up too much. The recommendation is here made to cultivate brevity. In the nature of things such letters may not be "boiled down" or edited in this office. That every Party member, who so desires, must have space to enroll his view is obvious. But the suggestion is made that, in all instances where the correspondent thinks his views have been expressed by others, and he simply wishes to enroll, he adopt the Duluth method, as illustrated in the contribution from Duluth.

L. M—E., NEW YORK.—Advice is all that can be given by this office on the matter. The advice is to await for the ruling of the proper Party authority. If the ruling is that the post IS an office in a pure and simple union, to give up the office. Among the rank and file there seems to be different opinions as to whether such a post is an office.

W. G., CINCINNATI, O.— The report from Bohn on whatever it be that took place in Chicago is hourly expected at this office. Will be published soon as received. We shall then all know from him himself directly and exactly.

J. W. McF., KANSAS CITY, MO.; F. J., NEW YORK; J. B., NEW YORK; C. Z., PEEKSKILL, N. Y.; T., DALLAS, TEX.; J. H., LEOMINSTER, MASS.; M. H., DENVER, COLO.; H. A. N., CHICAGO, ILL.; A. M. O., PALMYRA, N. Y.; F. C., SEATTLE, WASH.; A. G. A., SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH; H. J. K., RED LAKE FALLS, MINN.; F. C. AND D. F. B., JERSEY CITY, N. J.; G. W. T., TROY, N. Y.—Matter received.

FOR OVER SIXTY YEARS.
An Old and Well-Tried Remedy.
MRS. WINSLOW'S SOOTHING SYRUP has been used for over SIXTY YEARS by MILLIONS of MOTHERS for their CHILDREN WHILE TEETHING, WITH PERFECT SUCCESS. It SOOTHES the CHILD, SOFTENS the GUMS, ALLAYS all PAIN; CURES WIND COLIC, and is the best remedy for DIARRHEA. Sold by Druggists in every part of the world. Be sure and ask for
MRS. WINSLOW'S SOOTHING SYRUP, AND TAKE NO OTHER KIND.
Twenty-Five Cents a Bottle.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY SUPPLIES.

Constitutions, a neat booklet, with red-coated linen cover containing besides the constitution the membership record and spaces for dues stamps, a record of transfers and the Party platform, per 100	$2.00
Application cards, with exposition of Party principles same to be retained by the candidate and detachable application form, per 100	.40
Transfer cards, for use between Sections and, on reverse side, for use between subdivisions of a Section, per 100	30
Delinquency blanks, which make easy the work of the Financial Secretary when notifying members in arrears, per 100	.30
Candidates' resignation blanks, provided for in Article XI, Section 8, of the Party constitution, per 100	.30

Orders for supplies must be accompanied by cash, Article XI, Section 17, of the constitution expressly forbidding the keeping of credit accounts. It should be noted that orders for organization supplies must be addressed to the undersigned and not, as is often the case, to the Labor News.

Henry Kuhn, National Secretary,
2-6 New Reade street, New York.

Section Calendar

(Under this head we shall publish standing advertisements of Section headquarters, or other permanent announcements, at a nominal rate. The charge will be one dollar per line per year.)

New York County Committee—Second and fourth Saturdays, 8 p. m., at 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

Kings County Committee—Second and fourth Saturdays, 8 p. m., at headquarters, 813 Park avenue, Brooklyn.

General Committee—First Saturday in the month, at Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

Offices of Section New York, at Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

Los Angeles, California. Section headquarters and public reading room at 205½ South Main street. Public educational meetings every Sunday evening. People readers are invited to our rooms and meetings.

San Francisco, Calif., S. L. P. headquarters and free reading room 850 Market street Room 40. Open day and evening. All wage workers cordially invited.

Chicago, Ill., S. L. P.—Section Headquarters, 48 West Randolph street. Business meetings 2d and 4th Friday of each month.

Section Toronto, Can., S. L. P. meets in Room 3, Richmond Hall, Richmond street W., every second and fourth Wednesdays. Workingmen cordially invited.

Sec. St. Louis, Mo., S. L. P. meets every Thursday, 8 p. m. at 307½ Pine Street Room 6.

Sec. Cleveland, Ohio, S. L. P. meets every first and third Sunday of month at 356 Ontario Street (Ger. Am. Bank Bldg.) top floor, at 2.30 P. M.

Section Providence, R. I., meets at 77 Dyer street, room 8. Something going on every Tuesday night at 8.00 p. m. 2nd and 4th regular business, others devoted to lectures and discussions. During the winter a Science Class every Wednesday night.

Watch the label on your paper. That will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third the year.

EXTRA! EXTRA! EXTRA!

Four Weeks from To-day

THE WEEKLY PEOPLE

Will again contain a two page supplement.

The contents will comprise articles of merit and instruction, especially adapted to extensive circulation, in addition to the usual matter.

Don't Forget the Date

February 18.

Order Now Order Now

Less than 100 copies 1 cent per copy; 100 to 500 copies ¾ ct. per copy; 500 copies or over, ½ ct. a copy.

ROBERTS' RULES OF ORDER

Feeling the need in the Party of an authority on parliamentary law, the 11th National Convention adopted Roberts Rules of Order as such authority. A knowledge of parliamentary practice, in addition to its aid in dispatching party business, will add to every member's power and influence among working men.

Roberts Rules of Order can be ordered through us. Price 75 cents.

New York Labor News Co., 2-6 New Reade Street, New York.